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CONTENTS

PAGES

Anandabodha's Authorship of Nyayadipika and Limits for His Date—
By P. K. Gode, M.A. .. .. .. 153—156

Balacaritam—
By K. R. Pisharoti, M.A. .. .. .. 157—168

Dravidic Sandhi—
By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L. .. 169—185

Foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and Vidyaranya's Part Therein—
By S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L. .. .. 186—226

The Myth of War in Heaven and Its Significance—
By M. Yamunacharya, M.A. .. .. 227—231

An Image at Hampi—
By S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L. .. .. 232—235

Anthropological Research in India—
By Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L. .. .. 236—246

The Gangas of Talakkad and Their Kongu Origin—
By S. V. Viswanatha, M.A.. .. .. 247—254

Studies in Bird-Myths, No. XLVIII—
By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L. .. 255—256

Studies in Plant-Myths, No. XXVI—
By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L. .. 257—259

Reviews .. .. 260—299

Editorial .. .. .. 300—302

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ĀNANDABODHA'S AUTHORSHIP OF NYĀYADĪPIKĀ AND LIMITS FOR HIS DATE.

By P. K. Gode, M.A.

In his illuminating article on the Date of *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktātman, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao[1] makes the following cautious statement about the authorship of the *Nyāyadīpikā*, a commentary on the *Śābdanirṇaya* of Prakāśātman :—

"If this Ānandabodha is the same person as the one of that name who was the author of *Pramāṇaratnamālā*, a treatise on the Advaita system and the *Sābdanirṇayavyākhyā* (or *Dīpikā* or *Nyāyadīpikā*), etc." The above remarks appear to contain a doubt about Ānandabodha's authorship of *Nyāyamakaranda* and *Nyāyadīpikā*.

I have pointed out in my note on the date of Ānandabodha[2] that the author of the *Nyāyamakaranda* and *Nyāyadīpikā* appears to be identical for the following reasons :—

---

[1] *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 278–279.

[2] *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. II (1935).

(1) Ānandabodha in his *Nyāyamakaranda* refers to the *Nyāyadīpikā*, which was presumably composed by him earlier as the following lines will show :—

"दिङ्मात्रमत्र सूचितं विस्तरस्तु **न्यायदीपिकायामवगन्तव्यः**"

(2) The manner in which the above reference is made by Ānandabodha shows that to save much labour in exposition he is pointing his finger to a detailed exposition of the topic under discussion in the *Nyāyamakaranda.*

(3) In the Madras MS. of *Nyāyadīpikā*, the following statement proves that the author of the treatise was Ānandabodha :—

"दुस्तर्क ध्वांतपटलप्रपाटनपटीयसी इय**मानंदबोधेन** रचिता **न्यायदीपिका** "

Prima facie, therefore, the above facts appear to clear up the doubt of Mr. Hayavadana Rao about Ānandabodha's authorship of both the (1) *Nyāyamakaranda* and (2) *Nyāyadīpikā*, though I have not verified the reference to *Nyāyadīpikā* found in his *Nyāyamakaranda* in the text of the Madras MS. of the *Nyāyadīpikā*.

Another point which I want to bring to the notice of Mr. Hayavadana Rao is the reference by Caṇḍūpaṇḍita in his commentary on the *Naiṣadha* composed in A.D. 1297. He quotes a long passage from the *Nyāyamakaranda*[3] of Ānandabodha as follows :—

"असति प्रत्यक्षविषयत्वे भेदस्य अनुमानस्यापि व्याप्यव्यापकभेदज्ञानाधीनस्य भेदावभासे प्रामाण्यं निरस्तम्......इत्थं निरस्तनिखिलप्रतिकूल तर्कात् वेदान्तवाक्यनिकरान्निखिलोऽपि भेदः। शक्यो निषेद्धुमिति सिद्धमनाद्यविद्या, तद्वासनाविरचितभ्रममात्रसिद्धिः" ॥ इति **श्रीमदानन्दबोधाचार्यैर**पि **न्यायमकरंदे** भेदं निराकुर्वद्भिरुक्तम्।

A. D. 1297 is, therefore, one sure terminus to Ānandabodha's date and it is in harmony with the inscriptional evidence brought forth by Mr. Hayavadana Rao for the date of Citsukha, who commented Ānandabodha's *Nyāyamakaranda.*

---

[3] *Naiṣadha Carita*, edited by Haudiqui, 1934 (Punjab Ori. Series), p. 480.

According to this inscriptional evidence, Citsukha's literary activity may fall between A. D. 1220 and 1284, the dates of the two inscriptions in which Citsukha is styled as Citsukha Somayājin and Citsukha Bhaṭṭāraka *alias* Narasimhamuni. If the Citsukha mentioned in the inscriptions is identical with the commentator of Ānandabodha's *Nyāyamakaranda*, it would appear that Caṇḍūpaṇḍita, the author of the *Naiṣadhaṭīkā* and Citsukhācārya were almost contemporaries, Caṇḍū being possibly a younger contemporary.

Mr. Hayavadana Rao rightly looks upon the date of Prakāśātman as the other terminus to the date of Ānandabodha. If this date of Prakāśātman is finally fixed, we shall be in a position to clinch the issue with some certainty. At present, two dates for Prakāśātman are put forward. They are :—

(1) *A. D.* 1200.—According to Dr. Das Gupta,[4] this date is given to Prakāśātman several times in the *History of Indian Philosophy* but in all these references the grounds for this date are not mentioned. I had requested Dr. Das Gupta to let me know his grounds for this date but have not yet heard from him in reply.

Dr. T. R. Chintamani of the Madras University writes to me in a private communication dated 22nd March 1935, as follows :—

"The date of Prakāśātman adopted by you from Dr. Das Gupta is not correct for it is very well and widely known that Rāmānuja who lived between A.D. 1015 and 1137 has criticized in his *Bhāṣya* the syllogism of Prakāśātman. In view of this fact, it is impossible to bring down Prakāśātman to any period later than A.D. 1000. The date 1200 for Prakāśātman is definitely wrong. The date of Citsukha is fairly correct (A.D. 1200) and Ānandabodha who preceded him cannot be later than at least A.D. 1150. He was probably slightly older."

---

[4] *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 17, foot-note 2 and at other places in the volume.

I have not examined the grounds of Dr. Chintamani's criticism of the date A.D. 1200 for Prākāśātman as given by Dr. Das Gupta but have quoted his view to enable Mr. Hayavadana Rao to survey his facts in the light of this criticism.

(2) *A.D.* 1000.—Prof. M. Hiriyanna[5] as quoted by Mr. Hayavadana Rao assigns Prakāśātman to A.D. 1000. This view appears to come nearer to Dr. Chintamani's view stated above that Prakāśātman is not later than A.D. 1000.

The chronological order of the several writers mentioned above may now be reported as under :—

(1) *Prakāśātman.*—1200 A.D. (Dr. Das Gupta).
1000 A.D. (Prof. Hiriyanna).
not later than A.D. 1000.
(Dr. Chintamani).

(2) *Rāmānuja.*—Between A.D. 1015 and 1137.

(3) *Ānandabodha.*—Before A.D. 1297 (Caṇḍūpaṇḍita).

(4) *Citsukha.*—Between A.D. 1220 and 1284 (Inscriptions).

In the present state of the above chronology for want of a more definite date for Prakāśātman, I am inclined to agree in general with Mr. Hayavadana Rao in his remarks about Ānandabodha's date, *viz.* : " Ānandabodha should be assigned to a date somewhat later than A.D. 1000 say *circa* A.D. 1050" but may go a step further and conclude that he may have flourished between 1050 and A.D. 1100.

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[5] *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, (London, 1932), p. 340.

BĀLACARITAM.

By K. R. Pisharoti, M.A.

(*Continued from Vol. XXVI, Nos.* 1 *&* 2, *p.* 33)

Act IV.

(*Then enter Dāmodara*[53])

Dāmodara.—These damsels whose eyes look like those of the intoxicated young *Cakoras*, whose beautiful breasts are rising and falling, whose beauty is enhanced by their quivering lips, whose wreath-like hair is dishevelled, who are bewildered and have their upper garments fallen down, who are overcome with fear and are trembling—these lovely Gopis follow me after having seen the lordly serpent. (1)

(*Then enter the Gopa damsels*)

All.—Don't, don't, O Lord, enter these waters. This is the abode of the family of that wicked lordly serpent.

Dāmodara.—Don't, don't be afraid. See girls!

Splashing and entering into the dark blue waters of this ocean-like pool which is devoid of birds and every water animal, and which is sombre, on being unused by the terrified herd of elephants, I shall, though prevented by the affectionate, well-meant, and tender words of the anxious Gopis, overcome the strong serpent Kāḷiya who loves to dwell in the Kāḷindi. (2)

All.—O master Saṅgharṣaṇa, prevent, prevent master Dāmodara.

(*Entering*)

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—Enough, enough of your sorrows and your fears. You have shown your love. See you girls!

The cruel serpent, the fiery and terrible poison emitted from whose mouth has spread an unlucky yellow pallor

---

[53] This scene takes place the same day, immediately after and in continuation of the last scene.

over the face of the horizon, is afraid and is bowing low with his heads within his hoods on seeing the quickly approaching Kṛṣṇa. (3)

All.—Hem, master Dāmodara also is like that.

Dāmodara.—For the welfare of all life, I shall quickly subdue the serpent. (*Enter the pool.*)

All.—Alas, alas, there is smoke arisen!

Dāmodara.—Ah, how unfathomable is the pool! Here indeed!

Unto the waves of the Yamuna pregnant with the fiery poison and smoky with the fumes of Kāḷiya, do I give (back) their lustre of the dark silken freize resembling molten sky blue. (4)

(*Exit*)

(*Then enter the aged Cowherd*)

Aged Cowherd.—Alas, master, though prevented by the damsels, he is entering into the Jumna pool! Don't, don't be so rash to enter. Whoever drinks its waters, tigers or bears or elephants, fall down dead even there. How now not to be seen? What now shall I do? Well, I shall ascend the *Palāśa* tree and look on. (*Ascending and looking*) Alas, alas, smoke arises!

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—Look, ladies, look!

Having subdued the serpent and ruffled the waters from top to bottom, Dāmodara, standing upon the body of the dark blue serpent, shines like Indra standing on the clouds. (5)

Aged Cowherd.—Ha, Ha! Well done, master, well done.

(*Then enter Dāmodara, catching hold of Kāḷiya*)

Dāmodara.—Here is, indeed!

Taunting Kāḷiya writhing in agony with one foot of mine on his hood and my banner-like arms waving, I shall perform the lovely *Hallisaka* on the body of the great serpent whose hood is emitting poison. (6)

All.—Wonderful, lord, wonderful! He performs a *Hallisaka* (dance) crushing the five hoods of Kāḷiya.

Dāmodara.—Now, I too shall collect flowers.[54]

Kāḷiya.—Ah !

As the great mountain encircles the earth, as the cord of Siva's bow, Vāsuki encircled Mandara in the ocean, so shalt thou be encircled by my great and round and hard body[55] and quickly sent to the kingdom of heaven. (7)

Aged Cowherd.—Ah, Ah! my Lord! This our beloved *Dāmodara*, striking the great serpent, in size as big as the Jumna pool, with the foot-fall of his flower-like feet, is collecting flowers. (*Getting down*) Well done, Sir, well done! Take care, take care. I shall help you.[56] Alas, I am afraid, my Lord, I am afraid. I shall go and inform Nandagopa. (*Exit*)

Dāmodara.—From out of the pool of the Jumna which has its fishes and sharks destroyed, I shall drag the long and round bodied poisonous serpent steadily breathing hard in its fulness of pride, and throw him on the earth. (8)

Kāḷiya.—Hem, there is he !

My body is fuming with anger and the earth becomes hot by it. I shall now burn you with the wreaths of my flames. Let the earth with all the hosts of Maruts protect you. (9)

Dāmodara.—Kāḷiya, if thou hast the power, burn at least an arm of mine.

Kāḷiya.—Ha, Ha, Ha !

I can burn the whole earth to the ends of the oceans with all its seven *Kulaparvatas.* Shall I, then, not burn your arm ? (10)

---

[54] This statement appears strange as it stands, for there has been no reference to the collecting of flowers. Possibly, there may be some omission in the text. The pool must have been rich in flowers for nobody dared to pluck them before on account of the presence of Kāḷiya.

[55] Here, we would read *kaṭhinābhogena* instead of *kaṭhino bhogena.*

[56] The character of the aged Cowherd is well depicted. For, he has the enthusiasm of a youth but not the physical strength.

Hem, stop there ; I shall reduce thee to ashes.

(*Emit fiery poison*)

Dāmodara.—Thou hast, indeed, shown thy valour.

Kāḷiya.—Be pleased, be pleased ! O Lord Nārāyaṇa.

Dāmodara.—By this (your) valour, you were proud.

Kāḷiya.—Be pleased, O Lord, be pleased !

The hand which raised aloft Govardhana, which is unrivalled for its powers, and which is strong like Mandara, what power have I to burn that hand of yours, O Lord of Devas, on which depend, O Lord of the three worlds, all the worlds ? (11)

O Lord, in ignorance have I transgressed. I crave for mercy with all my family.

Dāmodara.—O Kāḷiya, why did you occupy this Jumna pool ?

Kāḷiya.—I entered here in fear of Garuḍa, that noble conveyance of the Divine Lord. Through thy grace, I wish to be freed of that fear.

Dāmodara.—So be it, so be it.

The golden-winged will give thee *Abhaya*, O Lord of serpents, on seeing that thy head is marked with my foot-prints. (12)

Kāḷiya.—Blessed am I.

Dāmodara.—Thou mayst return.

Kāḷiya.—As the Divine Lord Nārāyaṇa orders.

Dāmodara.—Or come along.

Kāḷiya.—Divine Lord, here am I.

Dāmodara.—From this day forwards, thou shalt be careful regarding all life, cows, brahmins, etc.

Kāḷiya.—Divine Lord, these waters are poisoned by my poison. Hence, even now I shall withdraw my poison and retire from this pool.

Dāmodara.—Thou mayst return.

Kāḷiya.—As the Divine Lord Nārāyaṇa orders.

(*Exit with his retinue*)

Dāmodara.—Now shall I hand over to the Gopa damsels the flowers I have collected from the pool.

All.—Here comes our Lord, unscathed, gladdening our eyes. Hail, Lord!

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—How fortunate! Good! A service has been done to cows and brahmins.

Dāmodara.—Receive these flowers.

All.—Lord, these flowers have never been before gathered by the cowherds; these are unused and are untouched by the rays of the Sun and the Moon. We are afraid, Lord.

Dāmodara.—The poor girls are terrified having seen the danger before. Don't be afraid, don't be afraid. These are now become beautiful on account of the contact with my hands. Receive them.

All.—As our Lord orders.

(*Entering*)

Ah, Gopālaka, where is gone the son of Nandagopa?

Gopālaka.—There is the Lord, after suppressing the great serpent Kāḷiya, standing surrounded by the Gopa damsels.

Soldier (*Approaching*).—O, son of Nandagopa, the son of Ugrasena, who was faithful to his name, Kamsa, orders you.

Dāmodara.—What? Orders, is it?

Soldier.—There is to be the great festival, called *Dhanurmaha*, at Mathura; accompanied by your followers you too must come to enjoy it.

Dāmodara.—This is a time sacred for Gods.

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—Let us now go quick.

Dāmodara.—So be it. All well. Now then:

With his jewelled crown struck down, his hair dishevelled, his garlands and *sūtras* broken, I shall drag down and kill Kamsa for his haughty deeds of yore as a lion does the lord of animals.[57] (13)

(*Exeunt all*)

End of Act IV.

---

[57] The interest of the act lies not in its dramatic conversation; but, as before, in the richness of occasions for dramatic acting.

Act V.

(*Then enter King*)

King.—Having heard of the doings in the *Vraja* of Dāmodara accompanied by Bala, who has great prowess and valour and strength, I have organised the *festival of arms.* Leading them here (for the festival), I shall get them killed in the ring by the wrestlers. (1)

Dhruvasena! Dhruvasena!

(*Entering*)

Soldier.—Hail, Your Majesty!

King.—Dhruvasena! Is the child of Nandagopa come?

Soldier.—May Your Majesty be pleased to listen.[58] As soon as Dāmodara entered (the city), accompanied by Saṅgharṣaṇa and surrounded by cowherds, he attacked the washermen and got clothes. Hearing of this, the great rutted elephant Utpalāpīṭa was sent by Mahāmātra to kill him. Then:

Seeing the elephant suddenly rushing at them, the boy from amidst the terrified Gopālakas, forcibly[59] caught the mountain-like lordly elephant by its tusks and quickly killed him. (2)

King.—What, killed? Go again and find out what is happening?

Soldier.—As Your Majesty orders.

(*Going out and coming back*)

Hail, Your Majesty! Now that son of Nandagopa entered the main street which has been adorned by the festival authorities by setting up a tall flagstaff with a banner, and with festoons and garlands and perfumed with the smoke of Akil (agallochum); seeing the hunch-backed Madanika, carrying in her hands scents and perfumes at the palace gate, took these from her by force

---

[58] There should be some such sentence as *Yes, Your Majesty, he is come.*

[59] The word *balena* may also be interpreted to mean with the help of Bala, *i.e.*, Balabhadra.

and adorned his own body with them and by massaging her body made her alright; then proceeding to the flower bazaar, he took flowers by force and adorning himself he went thence in the direction of the armoury.

King.—What, indeed, can he be about? In any case, go quick and find out what is happening.

Soldier.—As Your Majesty orders. (*Going out and returning*) Hail, Your Majesty! Though prevented by the lion-like keeper of the armoury, he killed him by a blow on his cheek, took the bow and broke it into two and is now proceeding to the *Upasthāna* (*gṛha*). He is, indeed:

Wondrously adorned in unfaded garlands and peacock feathers, dressed in yellow silk, and having the complexion of the cluster of water-laden clouds, he is coming with his broad eyes open wide in anger, accompanied by Rāma, like the God of Death incarnate. (3)

King.—(*To himself*) My heart seems flurried. (*Aloud.*) Go and get Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika as instructed and order out the army of Vṛṣṇi youths.

Soldier.—As Your Majesty orders. (*Exit*)

King.—Now, I shall also go up the palace and witness the fight of Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika. (*Ascending*) Madhurike, open the door.

Portress.—As my lord orders.

(*Enter King and sit down*)

(*Then enter Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika*)

Cāṇūra.—Proud and haughty like an elephant, I am ready for the duel. In the centre of the ring I shall break the boy Dāmodara. (4)

Muṣṭika.—I am the angry Muṣṭika with fists like iron. I shall fell Rāma down as Vajra does the mountain peak. (5)

Soldier.—Here is His Majesty. Approach you now.

(*Approaching*)

Both.—Hail Lord!

King.—Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika! You must discharge your obligation to me at any cost.

Both.—Listen, Lord ! We shall attain success by the peculiar fight of striking at the joints.

King.—Well, do so. Dhruvasena, go and bring in the Gopa boys.

Soldier.—As Your Majesty orders. (*Exit*)

(*Then enter Dāmodara and Saṅgharṣaṇa accompanied by Soldier*)

Dāmodara.—Brother !

Futile will be my birth among men as well as my doings in the Ghoṣa and now in the city shall I have no pleasure until I strike down the accursed Kamsa in battle and suppress him, who was an Asura in his previous birth. (6)

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—Entering the ring and killing that angry Muṣṭika with my iron-like fist, I shall, angry like a fire, saunter, like a hanging cloud in the sky. (7)

Soldier.—There is the King ! Approach you two.

Both.—Ah ! Whose King ?

Soldier.—Of the whole earth and of us.

Dāmodara.—From this day onwards, he is not.

Soldier.—May it please Your Majesty ! Here are they.

King (*seeing*).—He is that Dāmodara. Ah !

He is noble ; has the bold and graceful gait of an elephant blinded by rut ; is dark in complexion ; his shoulders and hands are well-set and his breast is broad and thick. His deeds, reported before, are not strange. He has the strength to revolve all the three worlds. (8)

That must be his elder brother Rāma, graceful and dignified ; clad in blue with eyes pure and long like a fresh lotus, with a figure like the moon, with his hands round and long and shield-like and with the dark garland of *utpala* flowers swaying about. (9)

Dāmodara.—Brother, I think these two are ready to fight with us ?

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—It must be so.

King.—Dhruvasena, let the duel begin.

Soldier.—As Your Majesty orders.

(*Throw the garland*[60])

Wrestlers.—Ah ! Sound the martial music.

Cāṇūra.—Come, Dāmodara ; attain peace through my hands.

Dāmodara.—*I am come, stop and receive my force.*

Muṣṭika.—Ha, ha, Rāma ! To-day shalt thou leave off thy life with thy body crushed with my fists weltering in a pool of blood.

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—*Muṣṭika, I shall announce thee to Yama.*

(*All fight a duel*)

Dāmodara (*Killing Cāṇūra*).—*Killed is he with his bones broken.*

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—*Killed by me also.*

Dāmodara.—*And the Asura Kamsa also shall I send to the abode of Yama.*[61] (10)

(*Ascending the mansion, catching Kamsa by the head, and striking him down*)

This, this is the wicked Kamsa !

Broad[62] and ruddy is his face ; round are his eyes ; his shoulders and neck, his waist and knee, his hands and thigh are broken ; shattered is his necklace and *Lamba-sūtra.* Here, he lies like a mountain with its peak felled by lightning. (11)

(*In the postscenium*)

Alas, alas, Your Majesty !

(*Again in the postscenium*)

Hear, hear, Vṛṣṇi soldiers ! Anāvṛṣṭi, Śivaka, Hṛdika, Pṛthuka, Somadatta, Akrūra, the time has come for performing the funeral obsequies of the Lord. Come, sires, quick.

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60 This serves as the signal for the beginning of the duel.

61 The italicised sentences all together constitute one verse. This is a peculiar feature of the dramas of the series.

62 Here is again an interesting point to be noticed, I mean the disposition of the stage. As suggested before, the stage must be in two different levels. In the lower which corresponds to the *Raṅgaśīrṣa* of Bharata, the wrestling match takes place and on the Raṅgapīṭha, the king will be killed.

Dāmodara.—Brother, stop the army.

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—I, I shall stop the army.

I shall with my arms ruffle this army resounding terrible with the speed of horses and chariots and elephants and terrified soldiers and shining with swords, barbed missiles, lances, pikes, and spears, similar unto the ocean tossed about by a strong wind and adorned with wreaths of foam. (12)

(*Then enter Vasudeva*)

Ho! Ho! Citizens of Mathura! Enough of your rashness.

The elder of these is my son Rauhiṇeya; and this is the son of Devakī. Do you not know? Stop all talk of fight. Of what use are arms? He is Viṣṇu himself come here for the purpose of killing Kamsa. (13)

Saṅgharṣaṇa.—(*Looking*) Ah! Father! Father, I, Saṅgharṣaṇa, make my obeisance.

Dāmodara.—Father, I, Dāmodara, make my obeisance.

Vasudeva.—May you both be eternally victorious! I have this day realised the fruits of having good children.

Both.—Blessed are we.

Vasudeva.—Who is there?

(*Entering*)

Soldier.—Hail, Lord.

Vasudeva.—Remove the bodies.

Soldier.—As my lord orders.[63]

All cowherds.—Ha, ha! it has become the kingdom of cowherds.

Vasudeva.—Who is there?

Soldier.—Hail, Lord.

Vasudeva.—Go quick, order Anāvṛṣṭi on the words of Dāmodara: Bring King Ugrasena released from the prison and crowned.

Soldier.—As my lord orders. (*Exit*)

Vasudeva.—Ah!

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[63] There must be the stage direction: *Remove the dead bodies*.

The divine musical instruments are sounded; and it rains flowers; to honour the destroyer of Kamsa, the Gods have come. (14)

(*In the postscenium*)

This lotus-eyed, prosperous Lord of Devas, the best of Suras and the conqueror of all the three worlds, may He ever protect Mathura with its rows of mansions adorned with gold, with its broad palaces, and bazaars and towers. (15)

Vasudeva.—Hail, citizens of Mathura! Listen, Listen, Sirs! Obey the orders of Ugrasena who has this day been reinstated in the kingdom, thanks to the grace of Vasudeva's son, Vāsudeva, who is clever enough to break even the fortress of Devas and whose mere glance turns away all Kṣatriyas.

All.—Well, secure now is the kingdom of Vṛṣṇis.

Vasudeva[64].—Who is there?

Soldier.—May it please, Lord!

Vasudeva.—Bring in the King.

Soldier.—As my lord orders. (*Exit*)

(*Then enter Ugrasena*)

Ugrasena.—My ills arising from long imprisonment have now come to an end, thanks to the destroyer of the Keśin like those of Indra through the valour of Viṣṇu. (16)

Thanks to the Divine *Grace*, I have been helped to cross over the ocean of misery.

(*Then enter Nārada*)

At the instance of the Devas and in company with the Gandharvas and the Apsaras, I have come here from Deva-loka to offer obeisance to Viṣṇu after His destruction of Kamsa. (17)

Dāmodara.—Ah! Here is the Devarṣi Nārada! Devarṣi, welcome! Here are *Arghya* and *Pādya*.

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[64] The additional text as suggested by the editor must be there.

Nārada.—I accept all. Gandharvas and Apsaras are singing :

Nārāyaṇa ! Our obeisance to you. The Devatas bow down to you.

You have well saved the world by this destruction of the Asura. (18)

Dāmodara.—Devarṣi ! I am well pleased. What more may I do for you ?

Nārada.—If Viṣṇu is pleased with me, all my work is fruitful. I shall return to heaven with all the Devas. (19)

Dāmodara.—Go, may we meet again.

Nārada.—As the Divine Lord Nārāyaṇa orders. (*Exit*)

Epilogue.

May our Rājasimha[65] unrivalled in sovereignty, rule over the earth girdled by the ocean and adorned by the ear-pendants of the Himalayas and the Vindhyas.[66] (20)

(*Exeunt all*)

End of Act V.[67]

END OF BĀLACARITAM.

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[65] It may be interesting to point out that a few years back an inscription has been discovered in the Tāḷakkād Church near Iringal a-kuda, in which a Rājasimha figures as a king of Kerala. This fact, coupled with the numerous local touches and the presence of the local stage technique, tends to prove that this drama and many other dramas of the series reveal the hand of a Kerala writer.

[66] As we have already mentioned, it deserves to be emphasised in conclusion that the importance of the work lies in affording scope for acting. This feature should not be forgotten in appraising the work, for it lacks in all other real dramatic elements.

[67] The rendering here presented was written by me when I was studying the *Bhāsa Problem* a decade ago and no substantial change has been made in it since then.

DRAVIDIC SANDHI

By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

(*Continued from Vol. XXVI, No. 1, p. 112*)

II

Consonants and Vowels

The consonants appearing as finals in the south Dravidian speeches are respectively the following :

Literary Tamil : *y, r, l, ḷ, n, ṇ, n′, m, v, ñ.*

Malayâḷam : *y, r, l, ḷ, n*[17], *ṇ, m.*

Kannaḍa : *y, r, l, ḷ, n, ṇ, m, ṛ.*

Literary Telugu : The so-called *druta n* which is consonantal, and *l* and *r* in the oldest inscriptions and texts.

For literary Tamil, TE 78 mentions the consonants occurring in final positions. *y, r, l, ḷ, n, ṇ* and *m* are of very frequent occurrence ; but the others are somewhat rare :—

-*n′* occurs in the ancient forms *porun′* (joining) and *verin′* (back) only [TE, 79] ;

-*ñ* is found only in the ancient form *uriñ* (rubbing) [TE, 80] ;

-*v* is said to be the final of the demonstrative bases *av, iv, uv* and of *tev* (enmity) [TE, 81].

TE 49 says that *r* and *ḻ* cannot be finals when preceded by a short vowel in monosyllabic words [*ra-gâra ḻagâra kut′t′r-ot′t′r-âgâ*], so much so that these can occur as finals in monosyllabic forms like *ûr* (country), *kîḻ* (below) where the radical vowel is long, or in dissyllabic forms like *ugir* (nail) and *viral* (finger). This fact, it may be mentioned in passing, is true of Mal. and of Kann. also.

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[17] The distinction between dental *n′* and alveolar *n* is preserved in Mal. pronunciation [L, II, 7, *vyâkhyâ*] though not represented by separate symbols ; in modern Tamil evaluation, no difference exists between *n′* and *n* but they are always distinguished in symbolic representation. In other south Dravidian speeches, no difference is recognized between the two symbolically or phonetically.

L III 13 expressly points out that *ñ* and *n'* cannot occur as finals in Mal., though they exist respectively in Tamil *uriñ* and *porun'*; further, it tells us that the sound *ṛ* is always followed (as in Tamil) by the *saṃvṛta* sound and that, therefore, it should not be regarded as a consonantal final. The observation about *ñ* and *n'* is important in that the few words of old Tamil with these sounds as finals were never inherited by Malayâḷam; there are reasons to think that these words went out of use even in mediæval Tamil. The remark about *ṛ* being always followed by a *saṃvṛta* is interesting inasmuch as it shows that the modern practice of regarding[18] *ṛ* as an optional final in Mal. words like *vayaṛ* (belly), *payaṛ* (gram). [KP, p. 96] had not received recognition during the period of Lîlatilakam. It may be observed here that the Tamil grammarians from Tolkâppiyanâr downwards have classified this *ṛ* as a plosive which like other members of its class always incorporates a supporting vowel in final positions.

For Kannaḍa, Śmd 148 lists the following as consonantal finals :—*y*, *r*, *l*, *ḷ*, *ḻ*, *n*, *ṇ*, *m* and *ṛ*. Except *ṛ*, the others are the same as in early Mal. The recognition of *ṛ* as a consonantal final (by Śmd) in Kannaḍa words like *nêsaṛ* (the sun) [*cf.* Tam. *ñâyiṛɯ*], *kesaṛ* (mud, clay) [*cf.* Tam. *śêṛɯ*], *basiṛ* (belly) [*cf.* Tam. *vayiṛɯ*], *poṛavâṛ* (buttocks) is at variance with the Tam. as well as early Mal. rule that *ṛ*[19] never stands as a final. The divergence, I think, is only apparent; for, the texts do not show anywhere these Kannaḍa forms without a supporting *-u* except in compounds like ***nêsar-paḍ-*** (for the sun to set), ***basir-kutta*** (diarrhœa), ***basirgaḷ*** (bellies), ***mâr-koral*** (another voice), ***bêr-paḍ-*** (to become

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[18] In modern Mal. word-compounds like *vêṛ-tiri-* (to separate) [*vêṛ(u)* + *tiri*], *kûṛ-pâḍə*, a final *ṛ* directly meets a consonant following. Such junctions are not tolerated in Tamil; probably this Mal. feature led to *ṛ* in *kayaṛ*, *vayaṛ* being considered by modern grammarians as absolute finals.

[19] For a discussion of the sound *ṛ* in Tamil and its relationship to the Tam.—Mal. alveolar plosive, see my paper on "The History of the Alveolar Plosive in Tamil" [HAP] in JMU, July 1934.

separate), *mâr-nuḍi* (counter-word or reply), *mâr-kôl* (counter-arrow), in all of which, be it noted, *ṛ* has changed to *r* in consonantal combination. I think that this must have influenced Śmd[20] in postulating *ṛ* as a consonantal final.

In literary Telugu, all consonants (except the *druta n*) incorporated the supporting vowel *-u* from an early time ; even the *druta n* in what is described (quite wrongly !) by the grammarians as its *svatvamu* form came to take on the supporting vowel in certain circumstances. But compounds like the following occurring in the early texts would indicate that *ḷ*, *r* and *y* were consonantal finals in an earlier stage : [*cf.* AC, 60] *kaḷ-drâvi* (having drunk liquor), *ittur-mahâdâtulu* (great philanthropists will give), *vil-naṛaki*, *andar-vacci*, *kondar-veḍali* [in the two last-mentioned instances, *r* < *ṛ*] ; *cf.* also *bhûpâlur*, *asuruḷ*, etc. in Bhârata.

A few remarks regarding the consonantal finals in the *colloquials* of Tamil, Mal., and Kannaḍa are necessary in this connection.

While literary Tamil invariably keeps *y*, *r*, *l*, *ḷ*, *l̤*, *n*, *ṉ*, *m* without supporting vowels in final positions, the colloquial optionally allows all the literary consonantal finals except *y* and *m* to be followed by the *kut't'reyal-ugaram ɯ*. Roughly speaking, the following rules are true of colloquial Tamil :—

	Lit. Tam.	Colloquial
(1) Original monosyllabic forms with short radical vowels—*n*, *ṉ*, *l*, *ḷ*	*pon* (gold)	*pon*, *ponnɯ*
	kaṉ (eye)	*kaṉ*, *kaṉṉɯ*
	kal (stone)	*kal*, *kallɯ*
	muḷ (thorn)	*muḷ*, *muḷḷɯ*

Usually before pauses, the mass-colloquial employs forms like *ponnɯ* [with the original consonantal final lengthened and with the supporting vowel *ɯ*], etc ; before consonants, either form is used, but the employment of the forms with the consonants as finals is more common among the literate and those who associate with the literate.

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[20] *Cf.* also Śmd, 191, which prescribes elision of *-u* of *nûṛu* in compounds like *nûṛ-mâtu*.

(2) Original monosyllabic forms with long radical vowels—*n*	*tên* (honey) *nân* (I) *mân* (deer)	*tên* *nân* *mân*

The use of forms like *tênɯ*, *nânɯ*, *mânɯ* with the supporting vowel is rare in the ordinary colloquial of the Brahmins; but I have heard such forms occurring in the speech of the so-called "low" castes, especially before pauses.

(3) Original monosyllabic forms with long radical vowels—*l*, *ḷ*, *ṇ*, *ḻ*	*kâl* (leg) *vâḷ* (sword) *tûṇ* (pillar)	*kâl*, *kâlɯ* *vâḷ*, *vâḷɯ* *tûṇ*, *tûṇu*

The rule for (1) above holds good here.

(4) Original dissyllabic forms with short vowels—*l*, *ḷ*, *n*, *ṇ*	*ural* (pestle) *śuruḷ* (curl)	*oral*, *oralɯ* *śuruḷ*, *śuruḷɯ*

Except for forms of high frequency like *avan* (he), *avaḷ* (she) in which the use of a final *ɯ* after *n* and *ḷ* would smack of illiteracy, the words of this category generally have in the colloquial a final *ɯ*; here again, as in (1) above, the alternative forms with consonantal finals are heard sometimes only in speech of the literate.

Words with *-y* and *-m* do not have any supporting vowel at all in the colloquial: *mey* (truth), *kay* (hand), *vây* (mouth), *âm* [< *agam*] (house), *maram* (tree).

All that I have said above with reference to the colloquial of Tamil is true of Malayâḷam colloquial also, subject however to a few peculiarities which I mention below:

(i) The supporting vowel has the value of ə before pauses and back consonants but approximates to *ɯ* before labial consonants; *cf.* the illustrations above.

(ii) Forms like *kayyə* (hand), *ceyyə* (do thou!), *payyə* (cow) [an adaptation from IA] are sometimes heard in the colloquial.

(iii) A unique supporting vowel *-a* appears in certain regional colloquials in forms like *vâya* (mouth), *kâya* (fruit), *pâya* (mat). This *-a* is not organic; and both in vocalic and in older consonantal *sandhi*, it disappears.

While ancient Kannaḍa generally used the forms with the consonantal finals, this speech began to introduce even in the

later stages of the ancient dialect[21] the supporting vowel *-u*, after *-l*, *-ḷ*, *-r*, etc. [K Gr., p. 139]. This use of the supporting vowel became quite common later on. This enunciative is always employed in the modern dialect.

So far as colloquial Telugu is concerned, the only consonant occurring in final positions is *-m*; in other instances, either the supporting vowel is employed (with greater or lesser degree of distinctness); or in the case of *n* followed by the supporting vowel *-u*, the entire syllable *-nu* is dropped in certain forms in unaccented positions in regional varieties of the colloquial.

In Tuḷu, the enunciative *ɯ* (or its substitute *u*), modified under the influence of a rounded vowel in the preceding syllable, is always incorporated after all consonants (except *y*, *m*) in final positions.

Tamil

1. Final short *l*, *n*, *ḷ*, *ṇ*, *y* (and *m*)[22] of original monosyllabic words with short vowels become lengthened when immediately followed by vowels in *sandhi* contexts.

TE 161 and N 205 refer to this change. Though the consonants themselves are not specifically listed in these *sûtras*, those concerned according to general rules are the above ones. The lengthening of these consonants takes place only (i) when the forms (or bases) concerned are monosyllabic, and (ii) the radical vowels are short. In other types, there is no gemination [N 204].

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[21] Kittel adduces the following illustrations from early Kannaḍa inscriptions: *magaḷu* [8th century]; *kallu* [11th century]; *ûru*, *soḍaru*, *mattaru* [12th century].

[22] Some instances in which *-m* is doubled in this context are the following: (*i*) the pronominal bases *em-*, *nam-*, *num-*, *tam-* in compounds when followed by vowels and in inflexional endings except the fourth and the sixth case endings: *nam-m-ûr*, *nam-m*, *ai* [Acc.], but *nam-a-kkɯ* [Dat.], *nam-a-dɯ* [Gen.]. The plural genitive *nam-a* has also the variant *nam-m-a* in late Tamil, *cf.* Kann. *namma* beside *nama* [Śmd, 142]; (*ii*) the old literary words *am*, *kam*.

The instances belonging to this category of change may be classified thus:

(i) Nouns in combinative sequences such as word-compounds and intimate sentence-constructions: *pon-n-oḷi* (shine of gold), *kal-l-âṇi* (stone nail), etc.

(ii) Noun-bases followed by casal terminations with initial vowels: *maṇ-ṇ-ai* [Accusative of *maṇ* 'soil, sand'], *kal-l-in* [5th case of *kal* 'stone'].

(iii) Noun-bases as used in the colloquial, when followed by the supporting vowel: *kaḷ-ḷ-ɯ* (toddy), *pul-l-ɯ* (grass); *y* and *m*, however, remain unaffected in the colloquial (see above).

(iv) In the formation of verb-forms from verbal bases (with *-l*, *-n*, *-ḷ*, *-ṇ* and *-y*), I have noted the following differences in connection with the gemination of these sounds:

(*a*) In the negative finites and in the negative participles with *-â* and *-âdɯ*, these sounds (*viz.*, *-l*, *-ḷ*, *-n*, *-ṇ*, *-y* of the verb-bases) are generally found doubled in Tamil: *śellâ*, *śellân*, *koḷḷâdɯ*, *tinnâdɯ*, *uṇṇâdɯ*, *śeyyâdɯ*, etc.

(*b*) In the aoristic tense-forms with *-um*, these sounds occur generally doubled: *koḷḷum*, *śellum*, *tinnum*, *uṇṇum*, *śeyyum*.

(*c*) The defective verb *uḷ* (to exist) which is conjugated in old Tamil without tense-endings (but with pronominal terminations) does not have its *-ḷ* doubled: *-uḷ-ên*, *uḷ-ây*, *uḷ-a*. Similarly, *-il* and *al* are conjugated without doubling of *-l*.

(*d*) In the Infinitive participles with *-a*, forms with and without gemination are met with in old Tamil:

en-a-,	the Inf. participle of	*en-* (to say)
koḷ-a [PN 14],	,, ,,	*koḷ-* (to take on)
śel-a [PN],	,, ,,	*śel-* (to enter, etc.)
śel-a [PP, V, 3],	,, ,,	,,

śol-a [K, 728] beside *śoll-a* [K, 649], the Inf. participle of *śol-* (to speak)

koḷ-a [K. 699] the Inf. participle of *koḷ-* (to take on)

uṇ-a [PP, III, 88] the Inf. participle of *uṇ-* (to eat)
śey-a, [K, 1001] beside *śeyy-a*, ,, *śey-* (to do)
śeyya [PN, 160, 24]
śela [K, 728].

(*f*) In Infinitives with *-al*, these sounds are optionally doubled in old texts:

śey-al [K, 33] beside *śeyy-al* [K];
koḷal (*t'*)-*ku* [PN, 62];
śeyal [PN, 50];
uyal [K, 437];
śelal [K, 1293];
śolal [K, 291];

(*g*) Verb-forms with *-al*, performing the function of optatives with 'positive' and 'negative' significations are sometimes found without the sounds (concerned here) being doubled:

śey-al [affirmative] (K, 33]
en-al [negative] [K, 198].

(*h*) In verb-forms with *-in*, the affix importing a 'conditional' meaning, I have noted forms with and without doubling of the sounds under reference:

koḷ-in [K, 836] beside *koḷ-ḷ-in*
śey-in [K, 120] beside *śey-y-in* [K, 205]
śel-in [PP, III, 279]
śoll-in
śelin-ê [PN, 67] but *śellin-um* [PN, 101, 106]
śeyyin-um [PN, 103]
uṇil [K, 922] beside *uṇṇin* [K, 945].

(*i*) In old Tam. verb-forms like *uṇî iyar* (for eating), *śelîi* (having gone), *koḷîi* (having taken), etc., there is no doubling of final *ṇ*, *l*, *ḷ*, *n* of the verb base.

These differences are not mentioned anywhere in the old Tamil grammars. The forms without doubling of the sounds *-l*, *-ḷ*, *-n*, *-ṇ*, *-y* do not occur in the colloquial where these sounds always appear geminated.

It is interesting in this connection to note that Kannaḍa forms corresponding to some of the above show absence of

doubling; and that these instances are expressly referred to by the Kannaḍa grammars Śmd and Śś.

2. The treatment of final *m* in forms other than those in 1 above, before a following vowel in combinative contexts is regulated by the following rules:

(*i*) Before casal terminations, the *sâriyai-att-* [for which, see below] is generally used, though instances like *nalam-oḍu*, *uḷḷam-oḍu*, [PP, III, 144] are also met with in the old texts.

(*ii*) In *vêt't'rumai* compounds where the second constituents have initial vowels, *m* is sometimes replaced by *-v-*:

mara-v-aḍi (bottom of tree)—*maram*+*aḍi*.

Even here, the older practice appears to be the use of the *sâriyai-att-*, as in *kuḷ-att--ilai* (leaf in a pond) [*kuḷam*+*ilai*].

In *alvaḻi* instances, there is no change: *maram-idu* (this a tree), *maram-um* (also a tree), etc.

(*iii*) The final *-m* of a number of nouns is optionally replaced in old Tamil by *-n*. This feature is hinted at by TE, 82, and expressly described by N.

This change of *-m* to *-n* is not peculiar to Tamil; it is met with in Kannaḍa and in the history of certain Telugu forms also. As it is very probable that the change was primarily caused by the position of *-m* before a vowel, these instances have to be referred to here. It may be stated at once that the forms with *-n* occur only before vowels, generally speaking; when consonants follow, the forms in question have *-m* or *varga* nasals.

The change must have been very ancient in the speeches, since even the oldest Tamil texts show forms with *-n*. Not all forms with final *-m* show alternatives with *-n*. I give below a few instances from the old texts:

aṟan-iṟukkum (fulfilling sacred duties) [PN, 3]—*aṟam*
nilan-um (and the earth) [PN, 2]—*nilam*
kalan-um [PN, 17]—*kalam*
niṇan-uṇḍu (having drunk blood) [PP, III, 198]—*niṇam*
piṇan-ugaittu (having trampled upon the dead bodies) [PP, III, 199]—*piṇam*.
iḍan-ê (auspicious hour indeed) [Kal.]—*iḍam*.

iḍan-um (occasions, instances) [TŚ]—*iḍam*.

paḷan-um (and fruits)—[P].

aṛam-um (and virtue) on the one hand and *aṛan-âkkam* (increase of virtue) on the other occur in Kuṛal.

In the oldest texts, forms with -*n* alone are generally found.

Naccinarkiniyar in his commentary on TE, mentions that -*n* may appear alternatively instead of -*m* in the following forms (amongst others):

nilam, nilan
kalam, kalan
valam, valan
kulam, kulan
kaḍam, kaḍan
polam, polan
pulam, pulan
kuḷam, kuḷan
vaḷam, vaḷan;

and he further states that this change is not met with in words like *vaṭṭam* (roundness), *kûṭṭam* (assemblage), *ôḍam* (boat), etc. Neither the grammarians nor the commentators have pointed out that the forms with -*n* chiefly occur before vowels. The instances from the texts and the evidence of a parallel change in Kannaḍa and in Telugu reveals that the change was primarily initiated by the intervocal position of -*m*.

3. The following ancient bases with -*ḍ*- -*ṛ*-, change these sounds respectively to -*ṭṭ*- and -*t'ṭ'*(*r*) before vowels in word-compounds,

naḍu (middle)—*maṭṭ-aḍavi* (centre of the forest)

nēḍu (long)—*neṭṭ-*

kaḍu (strong, severe)—*kaṭṭ-eṛumbu*

kuṛu (short)—*kut't'r-âvu*

śiṛu (small)—*śit't'r-eli*

I have analysed these changes[23] in Tamil with reference to parallel changes in the other south Dravidian speeches in HAP.

Malayāḷam

1. The lengthening of final *l*, *ḷ*, *n*, *ṇ*, *y* and *m* of originally monosyllabic bases occurs in Mal. in all the contexts in which the change is met with in Tamil.

The Tam. exceptions to the rule of doubling are not met with in Mal.

L, III, 25 states the rule for Mal.

2. The treatment of final -*m* of words other than those in 1 above, before vowels following, is the same in Mal. as in Tamil except for one feature which reflects a colloquial tendency prominently in literary Mal.

-*m* followed by the *samuccaya -um* has changed to -*v*- in Mal. before the 13th century, so far as one can judge from the evidence of available west coast inscriptions. A 13th century Mal. inscription [TAS, IV, I, p. 87] shows *mûlav-um*, *yôgav-um*, etc., with this change.

Further -*m* in colloquial Mal. sequences like the following making -*m* intervocal is so weakened as to be completely elided: ***guṇ-ây*** < ***guṇam-ây*** (good resulted);

The change of -*m* > -*n* before vowels following (as in Tamil *nilam*, *nilan-um*, etc.) is not met with commonly in the texts; but *kaḍan* for *kaḍam* (debt, etc.) is heard and used often. In the "vulgar" colloquial, one also hears *samayan-ây* (it is time) for *samayam-ây*, *taran-illa* (no opportunity) for *taram-illa*; these forms, however, are never used in "correct" speech.

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[23] I have also discussed in that paper the changes undergone by -*ḍu*, -*ṛu* of noun-bases in inflexions and in word-compounds. With these changes are also associated the phenomena connected with the final sound-groups -*ṅg*, -*ñj*, -*ṇḍ*-, -*nd*-, *nd'r*- in instances like the following when they form compounds with other words: *kurakku-p-paḍai* (army of monkeys) [*kuraṅgu*]; *naccu-p-pagaimai* (the dangerous enmity of poison) [*noñju*]; *pâppu-k-koḍi*; *maruttu-p-pai*.

3. Similarly, the Tam. changes affecting *-ḍ-* and *-ṛ-* of *naḍu, niḍu, kaḍu, kuṛu, ciṛu* are found in Mal. also [HAP].

The changes affecting *-ṛ-* and *-ḍ-* of noun-bases like *ârə*, *kâḍə* in their "oblique" case-forms (and in certain word-compounds) are also met with in Mal. [HAP]. L, III, 6 states the rule. The rule is not absolute and rigid in the Mal. colloquial as there are instances like *côṛ-il* (in the boiled rice), *kâḍ-ind'e* (of the forest) occasionally cropping up in the speech of the masses.

Kannaḍa

1. Final *l, ḷ, n, ṇ, y* of originally monosyllabic bases and forms of Kann. are lengthened before vowels following, subject to certain exceptions which in a few instances have parallels in Tamil.

[Bhb, 35; Śmd, 69; and Śś, 53.]

As in Tamil, the change is always met with in "casal" terminations and in word-compounds; but there are a number of exceptions in verb-bases, expressly provided for in the Kannaḍa grammars:

(*a*) These consonants are not doubled when followed by the Infinitive participle termination *-e*

kol-e (killing)
uṇe (eating)
ene (saying)

One may compare with these forms Tamil instances of Infinitive participles like *koḷ-a* (taking on), *en-a* (saying) appearing in old texts. In Tamil, however, the alternative forms with lengthened consonants are also met with.

(*b*) *l, ḷ, n, ṇ* of verb-bases is *not* lengthened before the other Infinitive termination *-al*:

uṇal (eating)
enal (saying)
tinal (eating)

Here again, Tamil supplies parallels from the old texts, though the rule is never absolute in this speech: *cf.* instances given above.

(*c*) Before the Kann. *kṛt* suffixes *-uttum* [Pr. Tense ending of Kann.], *-isu* [causative affix], *l*, *ḷ*, *n*, *ṇ* are not doubled. Śś, 62. Modern Kann., however, shows forms like *koḷ-ḷ-isu*, *koḷ-ḷ-utâne*.

(*d*) The rules with regard to verb-bases with *-y*, are the following :

(*i*) *-y* of *ney-* (to weave), *uy-* (to carry off), *suy-* (to breathe), *bay-* (to place) is always doubled before verbal suffixes except the present tense suffix *-utum*, *-uttum* ;

(*ii*) *-y* of other verb-bases is only optionally doubled before *-al*, though before other suffixes (except *-utum*, *-uttum* and *-e*) it is always doubled.

Śś further states that in the prohibition *poyyal bêḍa* (uttering lies is not required), *y* appears doubled even before *-al*.

(*e*) All sounds concerned here appear doubled in the negative tense-forms and in the negative participles with *-ade* :

uṇṇ-a-m (we do not eat)
koḷḷ-en (I do not, shall not take)
tinnade (without eating)
geyyade (without doing)

(*f*) In mediæval Kannaḍa, when the supporting vowels came to be introduced after *l*, *ḷ*, *n*, *ṇ*, with doubling of these sounds in monosyllabics with short vowels, the practice of introducing a supporting vowel after some of these forms without the characteristic doubling of *l*, *ḷ*, etc., appears to have cropped in compounds like the following: *kaṇu-guṛuhu* (mark for the eye, knowledge acquired by the eye), *kaṇu-daṇi-* (for the eye to be satisfied), *kalu-kuṭiga* (stone-cutter), *pulu-b(v)aṭṭe* (grassy path), *bilu-dani* (sound of bow), *muḷu-gatti* (knife for cutting thorns).

cf. similar forms in Tel. *kalu-dôy* (pair of eyes) beside *kan dôy*, *muḷu-gampa* (bush of thorns), *kalu trâgi*, etc.

While in Kannaḍa such forms occur only in compounds, Tel. appears to have used *kanu*, *mulu* as independent forms before consonants in sequences.

2. The treatment of Kann. final *-m* before vowels following, is regulated by the following rules :

(*a*) *-m* of "neuter" nouns optionally changes to *-n* before vowels—Śś—*nelan-idu* (this is the land), *maran-irdudu* (there was the tree)—*cf.* Tam. *nilan-um*, *kaḍan-iṛukkum*, etc., mentioned above.

(*b*) *-m* of some Skt. loans may change to *-v* before vowels : *dôsavidu* (this is an evil).

(*c*) The so-called *-m* of the Accusative ending *-am* changes to *-n* before vowels : *arasugaḷan-anibarumam geldam* (he overcame all the kings).

(*d*) Other types with original *-m* are retained before vowels.

3. The changes affecting the "oblique" bases of Tamil and Mal. noun-bases with *-ḍu* and *-ṛu* are absent in Kannaḍa; but the changes relating to *kaḍu*, *naḍu*, *niḍu*, *kuṛu* (and kiṛu also in Kann.) are expressly referred to in Kannaḍa grammars [Bhbh, 147, 148, 150; Śmd]. For a discussion of this topic, see HAP.

Telugu

1. (*a*) Final *-l*, *n*, (*ḷ*), (*ṇ*) of original monosyllabic bases with short radical vowels had even in the pre-literary stage become lengthened in noun-bases in Telugu, so much so that the nominative forms of such words appear in Telugu, with the lengthened consonant and the enunciative *-u*: *kannu* (eye), *kallu* (stone), *mullu* (thorn).

The principle underlying the lengthening of the consonants here [pre-literary Telugu *ḷ* and *ṇ* had already changed to *l* and *n*] is the same as in the cases referred to in Tamil, Mal. and Kannaḍa. The principle is also manifested in word-compounds like *min-n-êṛu* (*âkâsa-ganga*) and in sequences with the *samuccaya -un* and the particles *-ê*, *-ô*.

Forms like *mulu*, *kalu*, *kanu* appear in compounds in Tel.; *cf.* similar forms in Kann. described above.

(*b*) So far as the inflexional terminations are concerned, certain unique changes [consequent on the use of *aupavibhakti's*] had already affected the bases of this type (*i.e.*, with the

consonants *l*, *n*, *y*); and therefore the consonantal lengthening is not met with in the Tel. "oblique" terminations of these noun-bases.

(*c*) In verb-forms, the lengthening is never met with:

an-an, the Inf. participle of *an-* 'to say'.

can-un, the Future third person of *can-* 'to go'.

tin-eḍ- [Aoristic stem] of *tin-*.

an-uc-un [the Present stem].

an-ud- [Aoristic stem].

2. The change of *-m* to *-n* before vowels is pre-literary in instances like the following:

mrânu (tree)—*cf.* Tam., Mal. *maram*.

kolanu (tank)—*cf.* Tam., Mal. *kuḷam*.

un, *unun* (and)—*cf.* Tam., Mal. *-um*.

[*cf.* a Tel. inscriptional *guḍl-um* (and the temples) in which *-um* appears as the *samuccaya*, *vide* Bhârati, 1929.]

3. What is called *druta duritwa sandhi* in Telugu occurs in old texts sometimes. The *druta n* is here geminated before vowels: *arcucun-n-uparimitanisṭhâ* [AŚ, p. 141].

4. The changes affecting *-ḍ-* and *-ṛ-* of old bases like *kuṛ(u)*, *êṛ(u)*, *kâḍu* are comparable to those operating in the other south Dravidian speeches [HAP].

Tuḷu

This speech (the past history of which is not traceable except comparatively and circumstantially) shows only nominative bases like *kallu* (stone), *kaṇṇu* (eye), *muḷḷu* (thorn), *ponnu* (gold), etc., with doubling of *l*, *ḷ*, *n*, *ṇ*. *y* and *m* appear only as finals, as in colloquial Tamil.

Some instances with *-ll-* like *villu* (bow), *pallu* (tooth) have sub-dialectal variants *viru* (bow), *paru* (tooth, teeth). Possibly, one may compare with these the simplified *kaḷu* (toddy) of Telugu, and a similar *muḷu* (thorn), etc. of Kannaḍa.

In inflexions and word-compounds, *l*, *ḷ*, *n*, *ṇ* and *y* of originally monosyllabic words with short vowels and consonants appear geminated before vowels, as in other south Dravidian speeches: *maṇṇ-uppu* (sea-salt), *kay-y-âḷ* (attendant), *kaṇṇ-uḍu*

(at the eye), etc. Absence of "doubling" of the sounds concerned is characteristic of the following verb-forms: Future negatives like, *tin-a-y-æ* (I shall not eat), *tin-and-* (without eating), *tin-aḍu* (do not thou eat); and Imperatives like *tin-oḍu* (let him, her, it, them eat).

Category 1.—There is general agreement among the chief south Dravidian speeches in this category, particularly in (*i*), (*ii*) and (*v*). In (*iii*), Telugu alone has forms with ungeminated sounds in the aorist tense. In (*iv*), the Telugu instances show entire absence of doubling of the sounds concerned, while Malayâḷam evidences gemination of the sounds everywhere in this particular group (*iv*). Early literary Tamil shows forms with and without doubling, while the rules of Kannaḍa prohibit doubling of *l*, *ḷ*, *n* and *ṇ* completely and the gemination of *y* partially or optionally. On the whole, so far as the group (*iv*) regarding verb-forms other than the finite verbs is concerned, the absence of doubling perhaps denotes a more ancient state (as represented in early literary Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu) while the universal gemination of sounds in Mal. (which is an off-shoot of the west coast dialect of mediæval Tamil) stands for a later literary stage corresponding to colloquial Tamil in which there is gemination everywhere.

The phonetic *rationale* of the gemination of the sounds here has to be traced to two factors: (*i*) the structure of the words in which these sounds occur; they are monosyllabic and have short vowels; (*ii*) the presence of vowels immediately after *l*, *ḷ*, etc. (in inflexions, conjugations or word-compounds); and (*iii*) the character of the sounds themselves: *l*, *ḷ*, *n*, *ṇ*, *y*, *m* which can stand without enunciatives in final positions.

Category 2.—Early Tamil and Kannaḍa show agreement in the change of *-m* > *-n* of nouns before vowels following. Mal. has only very few instances of this type in literature. The change of *-m* > *-n* (before vowels following) appears to underlie the constitution of Tel. words like *mrânu* (tree), *kolanu* (tank); besides the Tel. *samuccaya -un* is also traceable to an older *-um*.

1. Final *-l*,*-ḷ*,*-n*,*-ṇ*,*-y* (and*-m*) of monosyllabic words with short vowels, are doubled in					
(*i*) inflexional endings	*Kaṇ-ṇ-in*, *etc.*	*Kaṇ-ṇ-in*, *etc.*	*Kaṇ-ṇ-oḷ*, *etc.*		
(*ii*) compounds and intimate sequences	*Pon-n-araśan*, *etc.*	*Pon-n-araśan etc.*		*min-n-êṛu*, *etc.*	
(*iii*) Conjugated finite verbs	*Koḷ-ḷ-um*, *Koḷ-ḷ-âdu*, *etc.*	*Koḷ-ḷ-um*, *Koḷ-ḷ-â*, *etc.*	*Koḷ-ḷ-*	No doubling	
(*iv*) Other verb-forms	Optional doubling in Inf. Participle with *-a*, and in Infinitives with *-al*	No doubling	No doubling in Inf. participles with-*e*, optional	No doubling	
(*v*) Noun-bases in the nominative with enunciative and with doubling of *l*, *ḷ*, **n**, *ṇ*—	Colloquial	Colloquial; approved by L for the literary dialect also	From late old Kann. downwards	Enunciative *-u* and gemination of sounds concerned	
2. Treatment of *-m* (before vowels) in cases other than those mentioned in 1.					
(*i*) *-m* elided	In "casal" compounds	"Casal" compounds			

3

(*ii*) -*m* > -*n* before vowels	Optional in a number of "neuter" nouns	*Cf.* Mal. *Kaḍam*, *Kaḍan* (debt) the latter generally before vowels; 'vulgar coll.' *samayan* (time) for the Skt. loan *samayam*	Optional in a number of "*neuter*" nouns	-*n* instead of -*m* in a number of nouns; -*n* < -*m* in the *samuccaya*; -*n* < -*m* in the aoristic 3rd person ending		
(*iii*) -*m* > -*v*	Colloquial	Colloquial; in the literary dialect, instances like *marav-um* (and the tree) before the *samuccaya* -*um*	*Cf.* *dôṣavidu*			

FOUNDATION OF THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE AND VIDYĀRAṆYA'S PART THEREIN

Prefatory Note

I WAS invited to deliver a course of five special lectures, on the subject of the foundation of the Empire of Vijayanagara and the part played by the celebrated sage Vidyāraṇya in the foundation of that great Hindu Empire of the South, by the authorities of the Annāmalai University in October 1930. On my return after completing these obligations, I read a paper on Vidyāraṇya and Vijayanagara before the Mythic Society of Bangalore. More than a year later, the authorities of the Mysore University desired me to give the substance of these lectures in a popular form as extension lectures under their auspices at Mysore and Bangalore.

Several publications in book-form and articles in historical periodicals have appeared since my address to the students at Annāmalainagar. In the pages that follow, I have retained the original form of the lectures as delivered under the auspices of the Annāmalai University but I have endeavoured to embody and incorporate, as far as possible, the additional materials and criticisms that have become available during the past few years.

I am obliged to the authorities of the Annāmalai University for their kindly granting me permission to print the lectures delivered under their auspices.

S. SRIKANTAYA.

Introductory

The subject of the early history of the Vijayanagara Empire continues to be of entrancing interest to this day. The foundation of Vijayanagara in 1336 A.D., during the reign of Edward III in England, changed the political fortunes of Southern India for roughly two centuries. The lessons of the experience of Hindu princes in the North were not lost upon the peoples and rulers of the kingdoms in Southern India where warlike feeling largely existed, and a gigantic effort was made to stem the tide of Muhammadan invasion and conquest of the South. Harihara's Empire grew to vast dimensions in the time of his successors and, in their day, Vijayanagara Emperors ruled over a country far larger than Austria and their capital was incomparable for wealth and magnificence. The trade of the Empire was sought after and coveted by the leading nations of the world and there are accounts left by ambassadors and travellers to the Court of Vijayanagara which are of surpassing interest.

The origin of this Empire was first dealt with by the ever-indefatigable Sewell, father of Vijayanagara history. The work has been taken up by several other distinguished scholars and there has been a very large output of literature on this fascinating subject. The number of available inscriptions is vast, particularly in the Mysore State. The literature of the period contains a mine of valuable information and of the standard works on the history of the Vijayanagara Empire, the latest are the valuable compilations by Rev. Father Heras of the St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

Tradition and authentic history give varying versions regarding the origin of the Empire of Vijayanagara and they will be considered in detail in the course of these lectures. It is generally believed that Mādhavācārya, the celebrated scholar and pontiff of the Sringeri Maṭha, was responsible for the foundation of this Empire. Another school regards Harihara and Bukka as feudatories of the last great Hoysala, Ballāla III. They, with the help of the Hoysala Emperor

and of other rulers in the South, established an empire. Some consider them as Muhammadan vassals sent to subjugate Ballāla III and conquer the Karnāṭaka country and as later on usurping authority taking advantage of the disturbed conditions in the locality. There are yet others according to whom, Harihara and Bukka were guards in the treasury of Pratāpa Rudra Deva of Wārangal and after his death at the hands of the Muhammadans, fled and ultimately founded a kingdom. During recent years, there have been still others who consider Anegondi and Kampili chiefs as having provided the future rulers of the Vijayanagara Empire.

The origin of Vijayanagara may not have been a miracle. It may have been the result of a supreme Hindu effort, in order to protect their religion, their *dharma* and their country and to provide a bulwark against the devastating Muhammadan hordes from the north of India. The Hoysala ruler Ballāla III may have established the Empire for the purpose and carried on his campaigns against the Muhammadans till he fell fighting in 1342 A.D. Princes of other ruling dynasties in the South may have helped him in this endeavour. The perturbed condition of the Muhammadan Empire in the North may have contributed towards the successes achieved in the South against the Muhammadan armies. The Shia Muhammadans in the Deccan may have proved troublesome to the Sultanate at Delhi and assisted the Hindu Rajas in the South. The rising sons of Sangama may have continued the work of consolidating Hindu authority and of preserving Hindu religion and *dharma* south of the Vindhyas, enabled thereto by the towering personality of the scholar-statesman Mādhavācārya, known to the world as Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda of the Advaita Maṭha at Sringeri. The latter may have been the cementing factor amongst the several kings in the South and the people of varied faiths.

How far the Vijayanagara dynasty, whether of Kannada or Telugu origin, was an indigenous and independent one, owning no fealty to any one, or as subordinate to any other ruler, be he the Hoysala Ballāla of Dorasamudra, the Kākatiya Pratāpa

Rudra Deva of Wārangal, Rāmadeva of Deogiri or Daulatabad, Raja of Anegondi, Kampila or Kumāra Rāmanātha of Kummatadurga, requires investigation. We have, further, to find out if Harihara and Bukka had been sent by the Sultan of Delhi against Ballāla III and whether, on his defeat, they usurped the country for themselves. And finally, what, if any, part did Vidyāraṇya or the Gurus of the Sringeri Maṭha play in assisting in the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire?

I propose, in the course of these lectures, to give an account of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire with reference to the above topics. The consideration of the part played by Mādhavācārya necessarily involves a detailed discussion of the various traditions, chronicles and inscriptions which mention his connection with the origin of the Sangama dynasty. A number of inscriptions is said to be doubtful and a few spurious by several scholars and Rev. Fr. Heras goes farther than most others in this respect. In his view, practically all the inscriptions relating to the Vidyāraṇya tradition or to the connection of Vidyāraṇya with Harihara and Bukka in any Imperial or political undertaking are spurious and must at all events be looked upon with suspicion. Assuming the spurious nature of several of these inscriptions, it will still have to be considered whether the tradition contained in them is also false. Would the Gurus of Sringeri Maṭha be responsible for these forgeries? How far can we condemn grants and inscriptions of such public institutions? Did the ascetic dwellers in the Maṭha at Sringeri take advantage of the situation arising out of the confusion in the Empire during the early years of the second Vijayanagara dynasty and augment their position and importance? The Gurus of Sringeri have all along been known for their piety, religion and *dharma*; their scholarship and learning are unrivalled. Did one of them, Rāmacandra Bhārati Svāmi, or others under his inspiration, get up false traditions, fabricate documents embodying these false traditions, in order to become Rāja Gurus and improve their position as *Karnāṭaka Simhāsana Pratisṭhāpanācāryas*? Are the subsequent traditions, literary references and

inscriptional accounts connecting Vidyāraṇya with the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and describing the capital of the Empire as Vidyānagara traceable to the "false decretals" of this Sringeri "Nicholas"? I have gone through the entire range of available literature, inscriptional and otherwise, and I must admit I have not been able to find any justification for condemning the traditions as having been forged by the ascetic dwellers in Sringeri or elsewhere. Whether the Vidyāraṇya tradition be founded on fact or be a pure myth, it must have been there from the beginning. A sweeping statement attacking the Jagadgurus of Sringeri as devoid of all notions of honesty, truth, religion or *dharma* and as descending to fabricate records, if only to gain a profit thereby, provided others are not harmed by it, is entirely unmerited.

The existence of two Mādhavas in the early Vijayanagara history, one a disciple of Vidyāśankara and another belonging to the Kriyāśakti school of religious thought, both contemporaries, statesmen and learned scholars, has led to considerable confusion in identifying their works or achievements. This aspect of the question will also be considered to some extent.

Muhammadan Conquest of Northern India

North India before Muhammadan Rule

To understand and appreciate the significance of the origin and foundation of the Empire of Vijayanagara in the south of India in its proper perspective, a short retrospect concerning the growth of Islam and the expansion of the Muhammadan power in Northern India is necessary. Both Northern and Peninsular India were well known for their trade; and intercourse between Africa, Europe and India both on sea and by overland routes was great. There is evidence that in the ninth century of the Christian era, even regarding those parts of India which the Greeks and the Romans were accustomed to visit, the Arabians had acquired more perfect information.[1] According to them, there was then a Muhammadan sovereignty, which was confined to the Arab Peninsula at the time of the Prophet's death in 632 A.D., spread to Syria and Egypt in half-a-dozen years thereafter, and in a short time the Persian Empire as far as Herat had become a part of the growing Empire of the Arabs. Before the close of the century, Northern Africa had been conquered by Muhammadan arms and with the fall of Spain in 713 A.D., the Muhammadans had been able to penetrate into the very heart of France whence they were turned back by Charles Martel in 732 A.D. There was, however, no echo of this remarkable insurgence in the India of the time and Hiuen Tsang does not allude to these events in his note on the political conditions. On the eve of the Arab invasion of India, its western borderland was dominated by the powerful Hindu Kingdoms of Kāpiśa in the North, Sindhu in the South and Tsao-kulā or Tsao-li between them. Sind adjoined Bannu which formed the southernmost part of the territories of the Kāpiśi ruler. Naturally therefore, the first shock of the Muhammadan invasions was equally felt at Kabul, Zabul and Sind. Half a century of unceasing effort upon Kabul and its neighbouring territory accomplished a nominal suzerainty imposed

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[1] William Robertson, *A Historical Disquisition of India*, pp. 103–4.

by an occasional raid and levy of some tributes. Kabul remained long unconquered. Relations of the Arab with Sind led to more prolonged wars and more permanent results. Desertion in the army, constant strife with neighbouring kingdoms and the danger to the Brahmanical States from powerful Buddhist monks who held sway over districts were also among the causes.

Thus the Arab raids against the coast of India which commenced about 637 A.D., after alternating successes and failures, attained one successful result by the conquest of the Makran coast in the latter part of the 7th century. During the Caliphate of Umar II, the rulers of Sind like Jayasimha and others adopted the religion of the Prophet and assumed Arab names, retaining the thrones and enjoying the privileges and obligations of the Muslims. When later he apostatised, a battle followed and he was captured. The Muhammadan Governor of Sind extended his campaigns into the interior and several kingdoms on the right bank of the Indus came under his rule. The Nausari Plates (Gujrat) of the Cālukya Pulikeśi, 738 A.D., refer to the Arab invasions and the defeat of the several kingdoms—Saindhavas, Kachchellas, Saurāṣtras, Charotakas, Mauryas and Gūrjaras. Then came a lull to the Muhammadan arms, due perhaps to the combined efforts of the Indian chiefs including the Pratīhāra ruler Nāgabhaṭṭa and the Cālukyan Pulikeśi and to a period of confusion in the Islamic State.

Three centuries of persistent effort, wonderful organisation of the Arabs, their superior knowledge and statesmanship, their method of warfare and their determination to carry on Islamic culture to distant lands achieved remarkable results throughout the world. Apart from any question of military superiority of the Arab in his conquest of India, sufficient has been said how it was not possible for the Hindu to keep off the invader for a time. Arab penetration further into the interior was checked by Nāgabhaṭṭa and Pulikeśi. Iswari Prasad regards the Arab episode in India as a triumph without results, an unremunerative appanage which left only a few families and

settlements as a memorial of their conquest in India. For, "the absence of that bond of sympathy between the conqueror and the conquered, which arises from mutual confidence was a conspicuous feature of the Arab administration of India."

The next Muhammadan invaders of India were of a different type. In ferocity of temper and iconoclastic zeal the Turks were in strong contrast with the cultured Arabs and Persians. On the Malabar Coast there was an empire ruled by kings whose authority was paramount over that of every other power in India and, as we know, the East continued to be looked forward to for the supply of the luxuries which the West most needed, and this state of things lasted till the decay and disruption of the Vijayanagara Empire itself. The Genoese and the Florentines and, later, the Portuguese and the Dutch and, lastly, the French and the English were the competitiors for capturing the trade of the East.

First Muhammadan Invaders

Long anterior to the introduction of the religion of the Prophet Muhammad into India, the trade between Arabia and Western India was extensive. The spirit of Islam breathed a new atmosphere into the Arabs who in a century managed to spread themselves far and wide throughout the world. The first country in India to fall into the hands of the Muhammadans was Sind.[2] Early in the eighth century, Muhammad, son of Kāsim, conquered Sind and firmly established the political predominance of Islam in that province. His rule over Sind, however, appears to have been just and sympathetic, under which the Hindus were allowed full religious freedom.[3] A river formerly separated Sind from India and to the east of that river was the Gūrjara Kingdom of Bhinmal, united with Kanauj from the beginning of the ninth century. There were chronic hostilities between the neighbours, belonging to

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[2] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 430–31.

[3] See Elliot, *His. of Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 185–86 *et seq.* Stanley Lanepoole, *Mediæval India*, pp. 10–12. Iswari Prasad, *His. of Ind.*, p. 44.

the two different faiths. During the same period, however, down below on the west coast of India, which in the time of Sulaiman was flooded by Arab merchants, relations between the Muhammadans and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were cordial; the Muhammadan was paying tribute to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king.[3a] One result, however, was the spread of the sciences of the East westwards, helped by the sword of Islam and the imperial instincts of the Arab.

In the North, Islam brought with it all the enthusiasm of a new religion[4] with a simple and awe-inspiring system and all the energy of a fiercer race compared with the mild Hindu. The character of the early Muhammadan invasions into India was associated with a spirit of plunder, like the Mongol raids later on under Muhammadan rule. There was no idea of conquest or occupation of territory; perhaps because by usurpation it was not possible—and it was known—to keep disorderly elements always under control. As Prof. Ratnaswamy says[5]—'Nomads were the Muhammadan conquerors of India and nomadic was their rule. The impress of nomadism was felt in their government, their social life, their attitude to the country they invaded, and their relations with the people they brought under their subjection. It coloured their public and private life, prompted some of their most characteristic actions and policies, and determined the course of their career in the country..... It is the key to their history, because it was the spirit of their civilisation.' To the Turk and Afghan rulers in India, war was the supreme happiness of life. Perhaps, that was the spirit of the times throughout the world.

The Samani dynasty founded the house of Ghaznī which plays a prominent part in Indian history. Sabuktigin was

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[3a] *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Part 2, Chap. XI, p. 763. Muhammadan rulers of Sind were friends with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were the enemies of the Gūrjara Kings of Bhinmal.

[4] *Historians' History of the World*, Vol. XXII, p. 21.

[5] *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 190–91. *Mysore University Magazine*, Vol. V, p. 223.

the Sultan of Ghaznī, having married his master's daughter and been constituted as heir by him for the Ghaznī province. The neighbourhood of a Muhammadan State alarmed the Hindus on the left bank of the Indus river. They had somewhat recovered themselves for some three centuries from the fears of the Arab invasions but could not forget the cruelty and oppression of their forefathers under the Arab yoke. Without waiting for an attack from Sabuktigīn, the Hindu rulers formed a confederacy of States under the bold lead of Raja Jaipāl of Lahore and marched against him. Sabuktigīn and his son, the famous Sultan Mahmūd met the combined Hindu forces on the field, and there were several skirmishes, followed by wind and rain and hailstorms. There was terrible disaster from which the Muhammadan armies recovered but the less hardy Hindus could not. Jaipāl sued for peace undertaking to pay tribute and presents. However, he did not keep to it but ill-treated the messengers who came to recover the same. This led to another war in the course of which the kings of Delhi, Ajmir, Kālanjar and Kanauj with several others fought on the side of Jaipāl. The Hindu armies 'appeared like the boundless ocean and in number like the ants and locusts in the wilderness'; but Sabuktigīn defeated them all, got immense booty and plunder and was acknowledged king of the territory west of the upper Indus river. He died in 997 A.D. after a rule characterised by prudence, equity and moderation. Sultan Mahmūd succeeded him.[6] In 1001 A.D. Jaipāl was defeated and he ascended the funeral pyre. Fifteen chiefs were taken prisoners. In 1004 A.D., the Hindus again did not pay tribute and Mahmūd advanced through Multan to Bhatea City of Bejay Ray. Muhammadan prowess prevailed and the Raja rushed on his own sword to escape imprisonment.[7] In 1005 A.D. Mahmūd went to chastise Abul Fateh Lodi, chief of Multan, who had rebelled and joined Ānangapāl, son

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[6] Beveridge, *Comprehensive History of India* (1872), Vol. I, p. 44. V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 190.

[7] Bev., I, p. 44; V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 191.

of Jaipāl. They were defeated at the battle of Peshawar and Ānangapāl fled for refuge to Kashmir.[8] Mahmūd returned to meet the Tartar hordes under Prince Elik Khan but came again to fight the formidable coalition of Hindu rulers arranged by Ānangapāl in the meantime. Their united forces brought into the Punjab a larger army than had ever been there before and new auxiliaries were daily joining. Hindu women sold their jewels to assist in the holy war. Ānangapāl was defeated and Mahmūd returned rich with the spoils of India.[9] By 1023 A.D. a Muhammadan garrison was for the first time permanently stationed beyond the Indus.[10]

Thus, we find the Hindu rulers who up to the close of the tenth century were free to do what they liked within their own territories, exempt from foreign invasion or control of any paramount authority, pitched against an aggressive Muhammadan power, alien in religion, ideas, social customs and methods of warfare which was a greatly disturbing element in the politics of India.[11]

Sultan Mahmūd sacked Mathura,[12] the birth-place of Krishna and in the course of another expedition, the sixteenth, Somnāth,[13] known to be stored with incalculable riches. In the course of the fight, over 50,000 are said to have been slain. As a result of Sultan Mahmūd's expeditions, most of the Punjab was annexed to the Ghaznī Sultanate.[14] According to his apologists, Sultan Mahmūd's object was not conquest, but plunder: his exploits were not directed by religious zeal but secular motives. His rich store of captives and treasure were a reward of Muslim piety of an essentially Central Asian prince. Though Hindu temples were desecrated and their

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[8] Bev., I, p. 45.

[9] Bev., I, p. 46.

[10] Bev., I, p. 48.

[11] V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 190.

[12] V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 192.

[13] *Ib.*, p. 193.

[14] *Ib.*, p. 193.

treasures removed, yet Hindus continued to hold positions of trust and responsibility under him and were prosperous.

Passing on from the expeditions of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, which left no enduring impressions and results and after which the Hindu kings continued as disunited as ever, now that the fear of foreign invasion had passed away, to the next stage of conflict in North Indian history, we find the dynasty of Ghor play an important part in it. In this struggle, the Rajputs particularly distinguished themselves. The Hindu struggle for independence began again about 1179 A.D., under the lead of the Raja of Delhi and finally ended, after early successes, in the capture of the Hindu princes and their territories.[15] The onward march of the Muhammadan received some checks, here and there as in Gujrat in 1178 A.D.[16] But when the basin of the Indus was secured, further advances into the fertile plains of India became comparatively easy of accomplishment. The idolators were considered fit to be sent to hell according to the simple creed of the invaders and the tempting riches there were their legitimate prey.

The magnitude of the danger induced the Hindu rulers to leave aside their quarrels for the time and to organise a powerful expedition as their forefathers had previously done. In 1192 A.D. Prithvirāj led the resistance but was defeated, captured and executed.[17] This was the fate of the most popular hero of Hindustan whose exploits form the subject-matter of local epics. In 1194 A.D., Raja Jaichand essayed to stem the torrent of Muhammadan ruthlessness and he too was among the slain.[18] Delhi, Benares and other places also soon fell. This and almost the whole of the next century witnessed the conquest of several of the northern Hindu kingdoms of India, and any respite they had was owing either to rebellion here and there, quarrel for succession or the threatened invasions of the Mongol hordes from the north-western border, the most vulnerable part of the

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[15] Bev., I, p. 58.

[16] V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 218.

[17] Bev., I, p. 60.

[18] V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 195

Indian Empire. By 1236 A.D. the subjection of Hindustan was more or less complete. Muhammad Ghori may have been less fanatical and more politic than Sultan Mahmūd; the people may have been under wise rule; but yet tribute and military service were exacted as the price of toleration. The Rajas and their subjects could not bear to see the Hindu kingdoms crumble away before their eyes, one after another.

The story of the Hindu defeat in Northern India has its lessons to tell. Iron discipline and unity of command are two essential factors for the success of an army in the field. The last great occasion when it was realised was in the Great War in Europe a few years ago. V. A. Smith says "No Hindu general in any age was willing to profit by experience and learn the lesson taught by Alexander's operations long ago. Time after time enormous hosts, formed of the contingents supplied by innumerable Rajas, and supported by the delusive strength of elephants, were easily routed by quite small bodies of vigorous western soldiers, fighting under one undivided command, and trusting chiefly to well-armed mobile cavalry. Alexander, Muhammad of Ghor, Babar, Ahamad Shah Durani, and other capable commanders, all used essentially the same tactics by which they secured decisive victories against Hindu armies of incredible numbers." The Hindu military system "broke down when pitted against the onslaughts of hardy casteless horsemen from the west," and "the Hindu defenders of their country, although fully equal to their assailants in courage and contempt of death, were distinctly inferior in the art of war and, for that reason, lost their independence." The same story marked the decay of the Vijayanagara Empire. It is an important point to consider how far a national militia raised in India on a non-caste basis will provide for its defence in the Indian Federation of the future.

South India before the Muhammadan Invasions

The current of events in Northern India ordinarily pursued its own course, unmindful of the trend of events in the far South, for generations. True, an Asoka or a Harṣa expanded

his dominions across the Vindhya range but that was only once in a way. As regards the south, the kingdoms of the Deccan generally were confined to the frontiers of the Narmada and the Krishna, though occasionally there were rulers who made excursions into the rich plains of Āryāvarta and reached the banks of the Ganges. Hence, we find only internecine strife amongst the rulers of the south in their isolation. Of course, from time immemorial extensive foreign trade was carried on with Peninsular India by countries of Europe and Africa and of the Far East.

From the seventh century A.D. the Pallavas of Kānchī overshadowed for several decades the ancient Pāṇḍya, Cola and Cera kingdoms.[19] The royal line of the Kadambas held sway in the south-west for several decades. The Kadambas indeed do not disappear from history till the rise of Vijayanagara in the fourteenth century and it is conjectured they may have been related to the Vijayanagara rulers.[20] The Gangas were a powerful dynasty of rulers in Mysore. They were succeeded by the Hoysalas. In the eleventh century, the Colas became paramount in the south. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cālukyas after varying vicissitudes silently disappeared from history. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we find the Hoysala Empire predominant in the south of India. The Yādavas of Deogiri and the Kākatiyas of Wārangal rose into prominence on the break-up of the Cālukyan and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdoms.[21]

Side by side with the political revolutions in this part of India, there was going on silently, in varying degrees, a modification in religion, manners and art. But the never-ending dynastic conflicts were not however without their effects on the development of political institutions.

Trade and intercourse was free between Northern and Southern India, and travellers in pursuit of learning were large.

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[19] V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 181.

[20] Rice, *Mysore & Coorg*, p. 28.

[21] S. K. Aiyengar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, pp. 143–151.

The people in the south could not be unaware of the barbarities and cruelties inflicted upon their northern neighbours by the foreign invader and his hordes. These stories must even have circulated with much exaggeration in the Deccan. In spite of natural barriers, religious and philosophical movements of the south profoundly influenced the north and the tenets of Śankara and Rāmānuja had their supporters from the Cape to the snowy ranges of the Himālayas. Whatever diversity in blood, manners, language, customs and political allegiance, the ideals of religion as enjoined in the Śāstras tended to withstand powerful disintegrating forces amongst the Hindu people and make them unite against a common danger.

The persistent efforts of the Muhammadans to conquer all India and convert the people to the religion of the Prophet could not have been lost on the inhabitants and rulers in Southern India. Likewise, they must have known how very powerful organisations of the Hindus were, time and again, overthrown by the Muhammadan armies, with ruthless slaughter and complete plunder and ruin overtaking the people and the country in the north.

A glance at the political map of South India will reveal astonishing features and help to understand clearly the object of the Muhammadan conquerors of India at the time. An account of Indian history of this period is mainly the story of feudatories' families rising into power when the time was opportune. The assistance of neighbours was naturally forthcoming in anticipation of participating in the division of spoils, as a result of contest. This characteristic of South Indian history continued till the consolidation of British Dominion in the Deccan. With the extinction of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as victims of a domestic revolution, arose a scion of the Western Cālukyas and he acquired some prominence. In the fight between them and the Colas under Rājarāja—a long and bitter struggle between two powerful and well-matched powers with great organising capacity and plenty of resource—came into prominence, amongst others, the Yādavas, the Kākatiyas and the

Hoysalas already referred to. There was in the south a war of succession for the Pāṇḍyan throne in which the Ceylonese and the Colas and their feudatories took opposite sides. These civil dissensions ruined all the parties, depleted their treasuries, depopulated their populous cities and devastated their fertile and smiling plains. On the fall of the Cola, the Pāṇḍya and the Hoysala fought for the spoils.

Thus, at or about the time when the famous Venetian traveller Marco Polo visited the Indian coast, we find four well-marked groups of States. The Hoysalas under Vīra Narasimha and the Pāṇḍyas under Sundarapāṇḍya were ruling the south. Rāmadeva of the Yādava Vamśa was at Deogiri and Pratāpa Rudra Deva II was governing the Kākatiya kingdom from Wārangal. We have to take into our consideration of this subject, the Rajas of Anegondi and Kampila and Kumārarāmanātha of Kummaṭadurga.

In strong contrast with the history of Northern Indian kingdoms of this period, the thirteenth century in Southern India was characterised by a high water-mark of Hindu progress in every direction. Though the country was politically divided and the kingdoms were in a state of rapid decline, offering an easy prey to the first southern invasions of Allaudin Khilji and the more systematic raids of his general Mallik Kafur afterwards, it was only for a time that the Muhammadan stood as arbiter in the south. The position of Hinduism was somewhat modernised. Literature and religion adjusted themselves to the religion of the masses and the administration was also highly organised. The reaction consequent upon Muhammadan invasions and the resulting confusion and alarm led to deep thinking and searchings of heart amongst the statesmen and the learned. A new empire was raised as a result of pooling together local efforts in different parts of the kingdoms of Southern India. When the dreaded Muhammadan invaders reached the river Krishna, the Hindus, stricken with terror, combined and gathered in haste to the new standard which alone seemed to offer them some hopes of protection. The

decayed old states crumbled and the warlike princes of Vijayanagara became masters of the situation and established a large and united Hindu Empire, the origin of which it is our attempt to trace.

South Indian Kingdoms

The Yādavas of Deogiri were probably at first feudatory nobles of the Cālukyan kingdom. In the closing years of the twelfth century, they were rivals to the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra. Rāmacandra or Rāma Deva was the last independent sovereign of the Yādava rulers of Deogiri.

To revert to the Delhi Sultanate in far-off Delhi, in 1288 A.D. there was a revolution resulting in the death of Kaikobad and the accession of Jalaluddin.[22] His acts were marked by humane sentiments. In 1291 A.D., there was a dreadful famine in Northern India and in 1292 A.D. a Moghul invasion under Holakoo Khan, grandson of Chengis Khan, was repelled. 3,000 Moghul mercenaries were entertained in the Delhi army.[23] In 1293 A.D.,[24] the Sultan's nephew Allaudin, formerly governor of Kurra, also became governor of Oudh. He had entertained certain schemes of conquest which he now began to pursue with a view to ultimate independence.

Rāma Deva of Deogiri was reputed to possess enormous wealth, treasured from a long time. Allaudin's object was not conquest or occupation of territory but plunder.[25] No Muhammadan had hitherto set his foot in Southern India and he anticipated much wealth in store for him. He was conducting an expedition in Bhilsa for the Sultan when he heard of the vast riches of the Deogiri Raja. Rāma Deva was not at headquarters and had, besides, sent a large army under his son Śankara Deva against the Hoysala king Ballāla III, who was trying to help the Pāṇḍya.[26] Under these circumstances,

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[22] Bev., I, p. 74.
[23] Bev., I, p. 75.
[24] Bev., I, p. 76.
[25] S. K. I., *Begs. S. I. His.*, pp. 151–57.
[26] S. K. I., *South India & Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 76–77

Allaudin after reaching the frontier of the Deccan, pressed against Deogiri. When Rāma Deva heard of this, the invader was only twelve miles from Deogiri. Allaudin defeated the king. The fortress held out for some time but ultimately capitulated. The Raja offered a huge ransom which Allaudin accepted. In the meantime, Śankara Deva who had returned, advanced and fought the Muhammadan army. The wheel of fortune had, however, turned and the Hindus were defeated, almost exhausted in the fight. The country round Ellichpur was ceded to Allaudin who returned with immense booty to the capital. A little while after, the uncle and nephew met and Jalaluddin died as a result of foul play. Allaudin succeeded him as Sultan of Delhi in 1296 A.D.[27] On his accession to the gadi, he tried to court popularity by various conciliatory measures. He tried for security on the frontier by driving back the Mongols, as Balban had done before him. The wealth of the Deccan was, however, too tempting to an enterprising adventurer and after the defeat of the Mongol invaders, Allaudin again turned his attention towards the south.[28] Gujrat which had held out for a century was reduced in 1297 A.D., and Raja Raja Karan escaped into the territories of Rāma Deva of Deogiri in the Deccan but his wives, children, elephants, baggage and treasure were captured. About the same time, another invasion of the Moghuls, under Kootloogh Khan, with 200,000 horse, and with the object of conquering the entire Hindustan, took place. The invader crossing the Indus proceeded to Delhi and encamped, without opposition, on the banks of the Jumna. The people, fleeing in dismay, crowded the capital. Supplies were cut off and famine prevailed. The nobles advised terms of peace but Allaudin gallantly prepared to fight. In spite of treachery, rebellion and disaffection amongst the nobles, followers and army of Allaudin, the invader failed to take advantage of the situation and returned. This led Allaudin to imagine himself a second

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27 Bev., I., pp. 82–83.

28 *Ib.*, p. 84.

Alexander and to conceive grand projects. He wanted to start a new faith and effect fresh conquests in India itself.[29] In 1299 A.D., Allaudin marched on Jaipur.[30] During his absence from the capital, his nephew and brother-in-law Rukn Khan had rebelled but Allaudin soon recovered and his nephew fled from the throne.[31] Later, Jaipur was captured. Hāmbīr Dev, his family and garrison were put to the sword. The same fate overtook the Raja's minister who had turned traitor to him. In 1300 A.D., the first attack on Ranthambhor and Chittoor was unsuccessful but in the following year, Ranthambhor fell and the defenders committed *Johur*. Thus, Gujrat, Rajputana and Malwa were conquered and the whole of Hindustan came under his firm rule.[32]

Allaudin's general, the eunuch Mallik Kafur was entrusted with an expedition into Southern India and the campaigns were carried on between the years 1301—1311 A.D. Kafur returned to the capital in 1311 A.D. with incredible wealth from the accumulated treasuries in the south. In the course of his campaigns, the Yādavas of Deogiri were completely subjugated, the Hoysalas were humbled and their capital plundered, the Coromandel was overrun and Muhammadan garrisons were quartered at Madura, the ancient Pāṇḍyan capital. Dreadful cruelties were practised by the invaders as we shall see.

To continue the narrative, Chittoor was again attacked in 1303 A.D., and the attack was contemporaneous with a blockade of Delhi by the Moghul who, however, retreated again for unknown reasons.[33] In 1304 A.D., Malwa was captured, the Raja was defeated and the surrender of ancient Ujjain was signified by illuminations and rejoicings at the Muhammadan capital. The defeated, yet proud, Raja was taken prisoner to Delhi where he declined an insulting offer of freedom. The

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[29] Bev., I, p. 79.

[30] Bev., I, p. 80.

[31] Bev., I, p. 81.

[32] V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 233.

[33] Bev., I, pp. 82–83.

story goes that his beautiful daughter feigning consent to her joining the Sultan's harem by a clever strategy regained for her father his freedom. In 1305 and 1306, two Moghul invasions were successfully repelled. The Muhammadan armies crossed the Indus on plundering raids into Kabul, Ghaznī and Kandahar. It may thus be affirmed that Allaudin had rid Hindustan of most of his enemies and restored comparative tranquillity at or about the time of Mallik Kafur's southern campaigns.[34]

Taking advantage of the disturbed condition of affairs in the Muhammadan Sultanate at Delhi, Rāma Deva had withheld the agreed tribute for a period of three years. Kafur advanced against him with 100,000 horse, reinforced on the way by the armies supplied by the governors of Malwa and Gujrat. On the frontiers of the Deccan, he met with severe opposition and made little progress for a time. He captured the daughter of the beautiful Kamalā Devi, who like her mother before, was taken to the harem and married to Allaudin's son. Mallik Kafur, however, was able to subdue a greater part of the Mahratta country and force Rāma Deva to sue for peace. In 1306 A.D., he agreed again to be a feudatory of the Sultan continuing to be faithful to him and during the remaining years of his life did not depart from this undertaking.[35] Rāma Deva hospitably received Kafur and went with him to Delhi.[36]

In 1309 A.D. in the course of his second expedition, Mallik Kafur proceeded to Wārangal, through Deogiri.[37] An army sent thither had previously returned unsuccessful.[38] The fortress was reckoned strong and impregnable.[39] The Kākatiyas of Wārangal had a famous queen Rudrāmba, ruling a vast territory between 1261 and 1291. It was in her reign that Marco Polo visited the Coromandel. She was succeeded by her son and heir Pratāpa Rudra Deva II. In the course of

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[34] Bev., I, p. 84.

[35] S. K. I., *S. I. & M. I.*, p. 123.

[36] Bev., I, p. 85.

[37] S. K. I., *S. I. & M. I.*, pp. 87–88.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 85–86.

[39] *Mad. Ep. Rep.*, 1917, p. 127; Elliot, *His. of Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 80.

his campaign, Kafur appeared at Indore, to the north of Hyderabad and caused terrible consternation and dismay amongst a people who had never seen the Muhammadans before. He encamped before Wārangal. After a very valiant defence, during the course of which Rudra stood Kafur at bay, the fortress was taken by assault. The terms of capitulation offered by Pratāpa Rudra were accepted, the country was laid under tribute and the general left the capital with a thousand camel-loads of booty.[40]

Whether Rāma Deva of Deogiri had offered assistance as a vassal of the Delhi Sultan to Mallik Kafur during this march against Wārangal does not clearly appear. In 1310, again, Mallik Kafur, on his way to Dorasamudra, halted at Deogiri. Śankara Deva, son of Rāma Deva, was ruling and must have exhibited signs of dissatisfaction towards the Delhi ruler.[41] Kafur, however, passed on without serious notice of it on his conquering and plundering expedition. His objectives were Dorasamudra, capital of the Hoysala Ballālas and the south up to the Cape.

The Hoysala Ballālas were a Kannada line of kings. During three centuries they had acquired enormous wealth and a large expanse of territory. Though a few decades before the empire was torn by internecine strife, it had again reunited under King Someśvara, who had proclaimed himself Emperor of the south. At the time of which we are speaking, Ballāla III was Emperor of the Hoysala Ballālas and was ruling over a vast tract of country which had remained united and unscathed during a period of political turmoil in the south. His capital Dorasamudra (part of which is the modern Halebid) in the fastnesses of the Malnad region, nearabout the ghats of the west coast, was in the highest state of prosperity.[42] He had heard enough of what the Muhammadan invasion to his country

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[40] Bev., I, p. 85.

[41] S. K. I., *S. I. & M. I.*, p. 123.

[42] S. K. I., *S. I. & M. I.*, p. 123.

would mean. The Hoysalas were responsible for a special style of architecture and the temples in the country were priceless gems of the Hoysala art. Ballāla, therefore, while his army had been sent on a plundering expedition elsewhere, learning of the impending Muhammadan invasion, soon returned to headquarters. His friend and ally, Vira Pāṇḍya, on getting news of the Muhammadan campaign, despatched a large army to assist him. Ballāla, however, offered terms of peace to Mallik Kafur. The Muhammadan general demanded conversion, tribute and *Jezia*. Finally, Ballāla is said to have been taken captive to Delhi and afterwards released. The booty of the conqueror is said to have comprised 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, and 96,000 maunds of gold.[43]

After the sack of Dorasamudra in 1310 A.D., Mallik Kafur proceeded still further south, reached the Malabar coast and then carried on his victorious campaign into the interior. The plunder of the temples and the wealth that he took back to Delhi on his return were enormous.

In 1312 A.D., Mallik Kafur was despatched again against the recalcitrant Śankara Deva of Deogiri. The Raja was defeated and put to death. The general stayed at the capital for some time collecting all the tributes due to the Sovereign at Delhi and sent the proceeds to the Imperial capital.[44]

Meanwhile, the affairs at Delhi were taking a different turn. The king was getting old and feeble. The flames of insurrection had told upon the centre of the Sultanate at Delhi. Allaudin's fortune was on the decline. The meridian of his splendour and power had passed. Gujrat, which took the lead, defeated the general sent against it with great slaughter. The Rajputs of Chittoor hurled their Muhammadan officers from their places and regained their independence. Harapāla, the son-in-law of Rāma Deva, stirred up the Deccan and expelled several of the Muhammadan garrisons, when Mallik Kafur was recalled and left the place. Even Kafur was not free from

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[43] *Ib.*, pp. 93–94.

[44] Bev., I, p. 85.

treasonable designs against his master. Conspiracies in the household and rebellion and defeat of his armies everywhere made Allaudin mad with rage. His illness increased and he died in 1316 A.D.[45]

Allaudin was a most notable ruler. He considerably extended Muhammadan territories in India.[46] His taste for architecture, like that of his predecessors, was responsible for a number of monuments, chief of which was the Allaudin gate at Delhi. The Moghuls enrolled in the Imperial army became unruly and dangerous, and one of them was very soon to found a new dynasty. For the purposes of our narrative what is more important, however, is the effect of Allaudin's invasions and of his policy towards the Hindus which had a profound bearing on the formation of a Hindu coalition in the south against the Muhammadans. Whether he was merciless and fanatical like the Central Asian warriors of the previous centuries, whether he distributed gifts with a vain liberality on the one hand as he slaughtered on the other, and whatever the extent of wholesale massacres of armed or unarmed and defenceless Hindus, man, woman and child to which he may have been responsible, are matters which have to be judged from the standards of his day. Ibn Batuta's claim for him as one of the best Sultans is not considered to be justified by V. A. Smith either by the manner of obtaining his throne or by the history of his acts as Sultan.[47] Barani, 'the excellent historian' of Smith, refers to his crafty cruelty and disgusting vice. 'He shed more innocent blood than ever Pharaoh was guilty of.' He ruthlessly killed everyone likely to endanger his throne and his nobles' heads were cut off, root and branch, almost to a man. He initiated a new horror, women and children were not spared. He was a particularly savage tyrant, with very little regard for justice. The bulk of his subjects were Hindus. He enforced the practices of his predecessors with

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[45] *Historians' His. of World*, Vol. XXII, p. 23.

[46] V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, pp. 232–34.

[47] Elliot, Vol. III, p. 184.

great precision and definiteness. Rules and regulations were drawn up for grinding down the Hindus and for depriving them of their property and wealth by every possible means, so as to reduce them to a position of helpless indigence. Half the produce, instead of the usual sixth, was taken from the land in years of plenty as well as during seasons of drought and famine.[48] In his reign, no Hindu could hold up his head, and in the house no sign of gold or silver, or of any superfluity was to be seen. These things, which nourish insubordination and rebellion, were no longer to be found. Blows, confinement in the stocks, imprisonment and chains were all employed to enforce payment.[49] Add to these, an organised system of espionage and punishments, regulation of prices by executive fiat and establishment of state granaries on a large scale, it was small wonder that this fantastic regulation should die with him, that during his latter days, in the wake of his tyranny, success should no longer attend his arms and that the country should be the hot-bed of intrigue and rebellion.[50] The demands of Allaudin's military departments were exacting. Heavy tributes were levied on South Indian kingdoms. Royal wealth constituted materials of war and the temple treasuries provided for long journeys, the military necessities and the distinctive methods of warfare.

The policy of Allaudin has been justified by some historians on the exigencies and needs of the time and to punish the wealthy and rebellious Hindus.[51] The vigour, efficiency and comprehensiveness of his centralised administrative system appear to have brought peace and security. The Muslim rule became an imperial power. Institutional life was developed and whatever threatened to impair the efficiency of the State

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[48] V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 235.

[49] S. K. I., *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* pp. 292–93.

[50] Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.*, pp. 209–216.

[51] It is, however, difficult to agree with this contention.

was crushed aside. The cheapness of the necessaries of life under State regulations and control increased the happiness of the people and bound them more closely to the personal despotism of the emperor,[52] in which the people acquiesced as it gave them peace and security from Mongol invasions.

II

South Indian Kingdoms

On the death of Allaudin, Mubarak became Sultan and reigned for a period of four years. He was inept, drunken, revengeful and vicious. Nevertheless, two successes attended the Muhammadan armies. The Imperial hold on Gujrat was tightened. In Deogiri, the Raja, Harapāla Deva had revolted. The Sultan proceeded against him in person to the Deccan and recovered the country of the Mahrattas. Harapāla was unable to offer any great resistance. He was captured and barbarously flayed alive in 1318 A.D. Deogiri became the first Muhammadan province south of the Vindhyas and attempts were hereafter to be made for extending their territories with Deogiri as centre.[53] The Sultan triumphantly returned and soon gave way to his weaknesses. He was ultimately killed in 1320 at the instance of one of his 'trusted' subordinates Mallik Khusru and thus the dynasty of Allaudin came to an abrupt end. Khusru as Nasirudin was Sultan only in name and but for a short time. His alleged favour of Hindus against Muhammadans was an additional ground of complaint against him and Ghazi Beg Tughlak became Sultan in 1321.[54]

The Raja of Wārangal had revolted and thrown off the Muhammadan yoke, in the meantime.[55] He tried to rally the forces of Hinduism while his general, Muppidināyaka, marched through Kānchi as far as Trichinopoly.[56] The Sultan's eldest

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[52] Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.*, p. 216.

[53] S. K. I., *Begs.*, pp. 166–84 ; Elliot, III, pp. 558–59 ; Iswari Prasad, p. 217.

[54] Bev., I, p. 86.

[55] Bev., I, p. 86.

[56] S. V. Venkateswara, *New Lights on the Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 2.

son Ulugh Khan advanced in person and conducted the siege of the capital, but Pratâpa Rudra Deva defended admirably. The besiegers lost heavily by hot winds and severe weather. The army was considerably depleted by desertion and pestilence as well as in actual fight. The survivors were greatly dispirited. The prince raised the siege and returned. He was hotly pursued by the enemy who slaughtered his men. A number of his officers who had deserted him equally suffered at the hands of the enemy. In the following year, the prince came with a fresh army and renewed the siege. The successes of the prince over Wārangal which was named Sultanpur were celebrated at Delhi.[57] The offer made to the Raja of Wārangal describes the character of the Muhammadan invasions. He had to become a Mussalman, give up all earthly possessions to "the faithful" or put his neck under the sword. By 1323, Wārangal was placed under permanent tribute and Muhammadan depradations were carried on as far as Rāmeśvaram, leaving garrisons at various places, chief of which was Madura. These Muhammadan conquests were devastating and subversive of Hindu civilisation. This provoked reaction. A scheme to transfer the capital to Deogiri was a result. The opposition to it strengthened.[58] In the meantime, the Sultan had been invited to intervene and decide the case of a disputed succession and, for this purpose, had marched across Bengal as far as Sonargon near Dacca. He left Bengal practically independent, although he brought with him to Delhi an important provincial prince as captive. In 1325, he died and was succeeded by his son Muhammad bin Tughlak.

Muhammad bin Tughlak ruled till 1351 A.D., *i.e.*, he was Sultan of Delhi for practically the whole period of our survey. V. A. Smith says: "The parricide[59] gathered the fruits of his crime and occupied the throne without opposition." He occupied it for twenty-six years characterised by a "tyranny as

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[57] S. V. V., *New Lights*, p. 2.

[58] S. K. I., *Begs.*, pp. 167–70.

[59] *Note* :—This is questioned by many.

atrocious as any on record in the sad annals of human devilry and then died in his bed. Like Allaudin, he secured favour by lavish largess scattering without stint the golden treasures of his father.'[60] He is described as one of the most astonishing kings mentioned in the records of the world. He was a mixture of opposites. He patronised learning and art and encouraged relief to the sick and needy on the one hand, while on the other his heavy exactions and grinding tyranny knew no limitations. Duties on the necessaries of life left the fields uncultivated. Industrialists ceased to labour; farmers fled to the woods and lived by rapine. Currency was tampered with and inflated. Paper money was introduced. Capital was changed to Deogiri from Delhi and the removal of the population was enforced with untold and unimaginable horror. Later, the capital was changed again. The instability of government became widely known. Ferishta records: "Public credit could not long subsist in a state so liable to revolutions as Hindustan; for how could the people in the remote provinces receive for money, the base representative of a treasury that so often changed its master?"

His attempts to conquer Persia and China and the expenditure incurred in buying off the Moghul invaders were more than anything else responsible for the inflated currency of his day.[61] Add to these mad projects, the personal pique which twice changed the capital to a distance of 700 miles. Of his reign, we have the contemporary records of the Muhammadan chronicler Ibn Batuta and of Alberuni. The occasion when Muhammad Tughlak undertook an invasion of the south, appears to have been considered propitious for a Hindu revolt in the Deccan country and for organising a powerful Hindu confederacy to meet the Muhammadan onrush. It is generally believed that Ballāla III, aided thereto by the contemporary Kākatiya king, brought this about. Ballāla III who had been taken as prisoner

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[60] V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 237.
[61] Bev., I, pp. 89–90.

in 1310[62] had returned by 1313.[63] Dorasamudra, his capital, had been rebuilt by 1316.[64] In the course of the next decade, Ballāla III is said to have been continuously active on his northern frontier, at Tiruvannāmalai, Vijayanagara or Hosapattana and elsewhere, quietly and unnoticed reorganising his resources. From 1328 onwards, he was carrying on a systematic campaign against the Sultanate of Madura.[65] Besides, early in Tughlak's reign, the Kerala ruler Ravivarman Kulaśekhara had turned out the Muhammadan garrisons in the Tamil country.[66] The northern frontier of Ballāla's territory was in charge of a number of generals, three of whom happened to be brothers. They held the frontiers, from the west coast a little north of Goa right across up to the mouth of the river Krishna, successfully. The flank of the Muhammadan province of Deogiri was watched by the Kākatiyas, at the time nominally under tribute to Muhammad. Ballāla III was thus able to carry on a war in the south against the Madura rulers unmolested by any action of Muhammad till he fell fighting in 1342 at Beribi (Chirchi).[67] Ballāla IV followed soon after.[68]

Muhammad Tughlak after putting down[69] rebellions and conspiracies in the headquarters of his dominions turned his attention to the south to reassert his authority there. He invaded both Wārangal and Dorasamudra about 1327-28 A.D. On this occasion, the Hoysala capital was left undisturbed when Ballāla delivered up the fugitive Bahāudin according to one account but according to another Dorasamudra was completely razed to the ground. A permanent garrison was located at Madura and it continued for seven years.[70] His

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[62] *E. C.*, V, Hassan 51–52.

[63] *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 68.

[64] *E. C.*, III, Md. 100.

[65] S. K. I., *Some Contributions*, p. 296.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

[67] Ibn Batuta, Vol. IV, p. 198.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 297.

[69] S. K. I., *S. I. & M. I.*, pp. 128 and 130.

[70] S. K. I., *Some Contributions*, p. 295.

vast Empire now extended from Sonargon to Gujrat and Lahore to Ma'abar and he ruled over the largest empire of any Muhammadan ruler.

Muhammad's troubles in the north were not over. We have already narrated the circumstances which made his territories an active volcano. The southern rulers were thus able to gather their efforts together and carry on petty skirmishes on the frontier.

There was a Hindu revolt at Delhi in 1320 A.D. side by side with the disaffection in the army of the Deccan. Further, the Muhammadans of Bengal and of the Deccan were ever ready to rebel against the central power at Delhi. In Bengal, which was isolated from the south, they did not receive the assistance and co-operation of the Hindus in their efforts. But in the Deccan, where even the Hindu rulers had some of them employed Muhammadans in their armies, such help and co-operation as was required was at hand. It is said that the Hindu rebels at Delhi in 1320 A.D. were in secret understanding with the Rajas of the Deccan, nor is this improbable considering the number of hostages from amongst them at the Imperial court. There is further evidence of the fact that in response to a revolt at headquarters, there was insurrection and rebellion in the south. That was how Muhammad Tughlak as Crown Prince had suffered disaster in his first siege of Wārangal when the traitorous officers in his army had joined its Hindu Raja.[71]

Muhammad Tughlak's invasion of the Deccan is variously accounted for. The idea of a central capital for all India including the south, exhibition of prowess of the Imperial arms, punishment of recalcitrant Hindu princes and a little quiet in the northern provinces are amongst these. The prospective conqueror of China, Persia, Nepal and other countries would further be anxious to have all India completely subject and submissive to his rule. The Yādava kingdom of Deogiri was a Muhammadan province and Muhammadan officers had been

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[71] Talboys Wheeler, *His. of Ind.*, Vol. IV, Pt. I, pp. 81–82.

appointed to rule over the Kākatiya territory of Wārangal. One of his nephews variously described but perhaps a cousin,[72] Bahāudin Gustasp held a government as Viceroy of the Deccan. He rebelled against the Sultan, tempted to aspire to the throne on the wave of the prevailing general discontent. He openly raised the standard of revolt against Muhammad Tughlak. He had great influence in the country and consequently his rebellion assumed serious dimensions and spread throughout the Deccan. His efforts met with some initial successes. Bahāudin's rebellion at Sagar was the signal for other revolts elsewhere. Further, the establishment of a Muhammadan Sultanate under a Muhammadan governor at Madura may have also provoked the Hoysala and Kākatiya rulers to join their resources and make a stand for themselves.[73] The Sultan sent Khaja Jehan, the governor of Gujrat against Gustasp. A battle was fought near Deogiri in which Bahāudin was badly beaten. After suffering terrible loss, he is said to have fled to the Raja of Kampili in the Karnataka country for refuge. In the meantime, the Sultan had advanced in person as the rebel's position at Kampili was considered to be powerful and fixed Deogiri for his headquarters. It was then that, pleased with its situation and strength, he determined to change his capital, a change fraught with such dire consequences. The Raja of Anegondi—one of the chief princes of the infidels[74]—sheltered the rebel nephew of the Sultan and advanced to Kampili to oppose him in person. After being twice defeated, the Sultan finally subdued the Raja who ran into the fastnesses of Anegondi situated amongst inaccessible mountains for refuge. Even that fortress did not long survive the siege of the Sultan's forces. The Raja of Kampili was captured and put in prison. According to Ibn Batuta, he commanded a great fire to be prepared and lit, into which his wives and

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[72] S. V. V., *New Lights*, p. 3.

[73] S. K. I., *Some Con.*, p. 296.

[74] S. V. V., *New Lights*, p. 3

children and others threw themselves to be saved from dishonour, while himself and a few of his followers fought to the end till the fortress was taken along with the inhabitants who were converted into Islam.[75]

The Kampili Raja realised his dangerous situation; his stores of grain were exhausted and he was in imminent peril of capture. He was resolved to die with his family and his trusted lieutenants. He advised Bahāudin to go to Ballāla who would defend him.[76] While, however, Bahāudin had managed to flee for protection to the court of the Ballāla who was then residing in his residential capital of Tonnur, the Sultan proceeded thither and Ballāla anticipating what was in store for him by a refusal, prudently delivered up the fugitive. Bahāudin was taken to Delhi and flayed alive. According to a description of this incident given by Ibn Batuta, "They bound his legs and tied his arms to his neck, and so conducted him to the Sultan. He ordered the prisoner to be taken to the women, his relations, and there insulted and spat upon him. Then he ordered him to be skinned alive, and, as his skin was torn off, his flesh was cooked with rice. Some was sent to his children and his wife, and the remainder was put into a great dish and given to the elephants to eat, but they would not touch it. The Sultan ordered his skin to be stuffed with straw, and to be placed along with the remains of Bahadur Bura,[77] and to be exhibited throughout the country," showing how traitors to the king would perish. Subsequently, the loathsome object was sent to the Governor of Sind who directed its burial. The Sultan was infuriated; he pursued the Governor to death and had a *Kāzi* who had supported him flayed alive.[78]

With these before us, we can easily see that the internal administration of Hindustan was rapidly drifting into ruin.

[75] Elliot, p. 614.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 614.

[77] A relative of Balban and claimant to the viceregal throne of Bengal.

[78] V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 241.

Rigorous collection reduced the peasantry to beggary. People with anything at all had no recourse but to rebel. The Sultan vowed revenge and hatred against his own subjects. On one occasion, he "led forth his army to ravage Hindustan. He laid the country waste from Kanauj to Dalman (on the Ganges in Oudh) and every person that fell to his hands he slew. Many of the inhabitants fled and took refuge in the jungles, but the Sultan had the jungles surrounded, and every individual that was captured was killed."[79] The victims were mostly Hindus and this fact added to the pleasure of his chase. In the south of India, exaggerated accounts of even these proceedings circulated and it looked as if his intolerance, ambition and ferocity had no limitations whatever. The security of the ancient dynasties was shaken by the rapidly advancing terror of this kind. The result was inevitable, if the Hindus did not bestir themselves betimes. The Hindu states would be over-run, devastated, the royal families disappearing, followed with a certain destruction of the religion, temples, cities and whatever was worth living for and dying for, of the Hindus. As Talboys Wheeler says, the interval (1321-47 A.D.) was of profound significance. While a revolt was suppressed its causes were not removed; it was liable to break again. Muhammad's proceedings frightened the Rajas as well as the Muhammadan armies in the Deccan who broke into mutiny.

Of the revolutions in Bengal, on the Ma'abar coast, in Deogiri and in the South, the most formidable was that in the Deccan. A confederacy was organised with the avowed object of turning out the Muhammadans from South India. Whoever were the leaders had a clear vision and wonderful foresight. The campaign was eminently successful and a Hindu Empire was established at Vijayanagara, the site of the present ruins of Hampe.

This war was a patriotic struggle for the Hindus for mere existence and for the preservation of all that was cherished as sacred from a religious point of view.

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[79] S. K. I., *Begs.*, p. 167.

We must also remember that the Delhi Sultanate had overgrown and become weak. The condition of affairs there was unsatisfactory. In the South, warlike feeling still possessed the people, who had lost power only recently. There was a chance for able adventurers which was fortunately utilised to the full and to the best and lasting advantage of the people concerned.

The condition of South India in this period of the fourteenth century may be broadly described as follows: On the north-west, the Yādavas of Deogiri (centre of a regular Muhammadan provincial administration) were on the line of the Narmada, and on the north-east, the Kākatiyas of Wārangal a subordinate Muhammadan kingdom could be said to bar invasion from the Bengal side and the Central Provinces. The Hoysalas of Dorasamudra once defeated by the Muhammadans bore the brunt of the trouble and formed the defence. To the south of them were the Pāṇḍyas feeling Muhammadan pressure. The Mussalman conquest of the south was not permanent. Under Muhammad Tughlak, the terrors of Islam began to wane and the Hindus of the south at last learned the folly of discord. Out of the chaos of the southern kingdoms, rose the Empire of Vijayanagara in 1336.[80]

Vijayanagara

Why Vijayanagara was selected as the capital of the new found Empire is the next question for consideration.

The date of the foundation of Vijayanagara which subsequently formed a bulwark for the defence of Hindu rights cannot be exactly determined. According to Sewell,[81] though the earliest settlement at Hampe cannot be assigned to any definite age, a town is said to have existed there as early as 1100 A.D. The poet Harihara refers to the Virūpākṣa temple in his works dated 1150-1250 A.D. The Dharmakarta of the Pampāpati temple asserts the existence of inscriptions and records to prove that in 1199 A.D. the great *gopura* of

[80] V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 242.
[81] F. J. Richards, *Gazetteer of the Salem Dt.*, Vol. I, p. 64.

the first *Prākāra* was originally built. Fergusson[82] dates the foundation as 1118 A.D. by Vijayarāyulu. This contradicts the Dharmakarta's account which places the commencement of the dynasty in 1336 A.D. (Ś. 1258), by Vidyā Rāmaswami (Vidyāraṇya).

Dr. R. Shama Sastri refers to a few inscriptions of the ancient kings of Anegondi.[83] He mentions Ś 910 and says that long before the Gajapathi Kings of Anegondi came on the scene, Hampe and Anegondi formed part of the famous Cālukyan Empire in the tenth century A.D., and that these parts were ruled by some Jaina princes.

According to Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao, Anegondi was in existence long prior to Vijayanagara and in the earlier periods of its history it was noted for considerable influence and power. Its chiefs were men of resource and even the early Muhammadan rulers had sought their assistance.[84] It was not a mere suburb. Besides, it had many natural advantages. The original name of the city where the ruins of Hampe now stand was Vijayanagara; it later became famous as Vidyānagara under the inspiration of the sage Vidyāraṇya.[85] Mr. Suryanarayana Rao considers Vijayanagara to have been founded about 1150 A.D. during the time of Vijayadhvaja, Anegondi having ceased to be the capital and the same to have been later revived as Vidyānagara in 1336 A.D.[86]

According to Francis Buchanan, the Yādava dynasty of Vijayanagara is a matter of great curiosity and not yet well understood.[87] He refers to *Grāmapaddhati* and gives impossible dates like 493 A.D. for the foundation of Vijayanagara, near the old city of Anegondi, then wrested from the Turks. He later on cites Rāmappa's *Rāyapaddhati* and says[88] the

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[82] Sewell: *List of Anti., Mad.*, Vol. I, p. 106.
[83] *Ind. and Eastn. Arch.*, p. 374.
[84] *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 285.
[85] *Never to be Forgotten Empire*, Intro., p. 3.
[86] *Ib.*, pp. 4–5.
[87] *Ib.*, pp. 11–12.
[88] *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 270.

Yavanas of Anegondi ruled there for fifty-four years till 836 A.D. Hoysalas took it from them and later changed their capital to Dorasamudra. Kampina Rāyas ruled at Anegondi for thirty years till the death of Komara Rāmanātha, (849-901 A.D.). Boji Rāyas, nine princes for 145 years, *i.e.*, 1062-3 A.D., were followed by eighteen princes of Āndhra descent for 211 years, till it became the property of the Mlechchas who were driven out in 1336 A.D.

If it be permissible to go still further back to the legendary period, it will be found that this was a part of the Kiṣkinda kingdom of Sugrīva, from which he was turned out by his brother Vāli. Rama, the celebrated hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, the great Hindu epic, befriended Sugrīva, first meeting him at the source of the Pampa or Tungabhadra river, where the famous Hindu Empire was afterwards to take its rise.[89] Names of places in the vicinity of Hampe are identical with those of the Rāmāyaṇa. Janamejaya Rāya, son of the emperor Parīkṣit is said to have been ruling the kingdom from Hastināpura, in peace and wisdom, and whether the inscriptions be genuine or otherwise, the story is given. Heras seems to rely on them[90] but for the dates.[91]

The temple of Virūpākṣa is said to have existed in 1237 A.D.[92] The temple can be seen to be a collection of buildings erected at different periods. The Bhuvaneśvarī shrine appears to have been built in the Cālukyan style of about the eleventh or twelfth century, admittedly anterior to the art of Vijayanagara, and there are Jaina temples on the Hemakūta Hill.[93]

Two inscriptions of Harihara I describe him as a chieftain ruling over Navakhaṇḍa with Kunjarakoṇa as capital.[94] Rev.

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[89] *Ib.*, p. 280.
[90] Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 277.
[91] *E. C.*, VII, SK, 12, 45 and 86.
[92] *A. S. I.*, 1925–26, p. 140.
[93] Longhurst, *Hampe Ruins*, p. 27.
[94] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 10.
A. S. I., *Report*, 1925–26, p. 140.
N. D. I., I, No. 18 (Kapalur).

Heras remarks Navakhaṇḍa is not mentioned and suggests that references are not reliable but even he accepts the existence of the place as certain.[95]

According to Dr. Fleet, the Vijayanagara inscriptions refer to the kingdom of Hastināvati or Hampe or Hampe-Hastināvati or Anegondi.[96] *Rājakālanirṇaya* refers to it as Hastina Kona, and an inscription of 1347 under Mārappa describes it as Hastini.[97]

Prof. S. V. Venkateswara in his article "New Light on the Beginnings of Vijayanagara" refers to *Rājakālanirṇaya*. His account is partly based on this work. The authorship is ascribed to Vidyāraṇya, a disciple of Vidyāśankara. The origin of the empire is said to have been narrated in secrecy by Vidyāraṇya to his brother Bhārati Krisṇa when the latter was the pontiff of Sringeri. From this account, we learn that the city of Vijayanagara was once famous in history but of late years had suffered a decline The sage Vidyātirtha, *i.e.*, Vidyāśankara, the preceptor of Vidyāraṇya, had decided to revive the glory of Vijayanagara and had taken up his abode at Mātangaparvata closeby. Mādhavācārya and his brother Sāyana, who had no issue, approached the sage in his *āśrama*, to implore him for progeny. Meanwhile, the two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, of the Kuru Vamśa, who were out on a hunting excursion also came there. These brothers were treasurer and secretary respectively of Pratāpa Rudra Deva of Wārangal. When the Sultan defeated that Raja and took him captive, they served as treasurers of the Raja Rāmanātha. A little while after, he too was slain and then the brothers were carried off by the Sultan's troops to Delhi. When they were subsequently released, they returned and took up their abode at Hastina Kona on the banks of the Tungabhadra river. According to the Professor, Harihara and Bukka, on their

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95 Heras, *Begs.*, p. 52.

96 *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 377.

97 *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.

meeting Vidyātīrtha, became worshippers of the God Virūpākṣa at Hampe. This part of the *Rājakālanirṇaya* will be considered a little later; the account, however, will show that there was existing previously to the origin of the Empire of Vijayanagara, a city not altogether unknown. We shall also presently see the connection of Ballāla III, the Hoysala Emperor of the time, with Vijayanagara.

The present tiny hamlet of Hampe grew up around the great and famous temple of Pampāpati on the southern bank of the tributary of the Perdore in the Hospet taluk of the Bellary district. The remains cover an area of nine square miles and a far larger area, if we should take into consideration the old fortifications and outposts. Anegondi in the Nizam's dominions across the Tungabhadra river formed a northern outpost of the city, Kampili serving as an eastern frontier of the famous capital. Of course, Hospet once formed part of the extensive imperial city, by the name of Nāgalapur, in honour of Nāgala Devi, a favourite courtesan of Krishnadeva Rāya. Mr. M. H. Ramasarma in a very interesting article on "The Vestiges of Kummaṭa"[98] refers to Bahadur Baṇḍe, Kudure Kallu, Mādigara Hampayyana Guḍḍa (named after one of Kumāra Rāmanātha's generals) and Haḷe Kummaṭa, and to the fortifications of Hosa Kummaṭa in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to Kumāra Rāmana Durga and the elephant stables. Perhaps, they were included among the suburbs of Vijayanagara.

I believe that Vijayanagara, just before its emergence as a capital of the most powerful Hindu Empire of the south under Harihara and Bukka, was familiarly known as Hosapattana and was a residential capital of Ballāla III, then Hoysala emperor. A number of inscriptions of the period describe Ballāla as having been in the *nelevīḍu* of Hosapattana. I further think that it was in the Hoysala country and that Harihara and Bukka were themselves chieftains under the

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[98] *Q. J. M. S.*, XX, pp. 261-270.

Hoysalas in all probability. I am aware Mr. Rice says Hosapattana was not in the Hoysala country,[99] but I am inclined to agree with Father Heras who accepts the view of Sir Walter Elliot.

Vijayanagara was a part of the Kuntala kingdom and Vinayāditya Hoysala was the ornament of the Kuntala dominions.[100] Vijayanagara belonged to Kuntala, a district of the Karnataka country.[101] Inscriptions of the time of Devarāya II, 1430 A.D., describe Vijayanagara as situated in the Kuntala country :[102] in the midst of the Karnataka Deśa, which was the abode of all wealth and which equalled heaven.[103] In the time of Acyutarāya also, 1538, Vidyānagara belonged to the government of Kuntaladeśa,[104] and likewise under Sadāśiva in 1555.[105] Prof. Venkateswara says that Harihara and Bukka on their release by the Muhammadans set up a kingdom at Anegondi (Hastinakonapura), included in the Kuntala Deśa for several years.[106]

Dr. R. Shama Sastri seeks to identify Hosapattana of the inscriptions with Sakrepattana in the Chikmagalur taluk of the district of Kadur ;[107] but no one before him has done so. Hosapattana was also called Hosahampeyapattana.[108]

If we come to the inscriptions of Ballāla III, we find Penukonda was a part of the Hoysala dominions. In 1328, Mācayadannāyaka was ruling at Penukonda as a Hoysala Viceroy. A son of Ballāla III, known as Vīra Virūpākṣa Ballāla or Vīra Vijaya Virūpākṣa was crowned at Hosapattana.[109]

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99 *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1923, p. 35.

100 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 155–56, No. 152, verses 25 26.

101 *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 29.

102 *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 160–64, No. 153 at p. 164.

103 *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 45.

104 *E. C.*, XI, Cl. 54.

105 S.V.V., *New Lights*, p. 6.

106 *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1927, p. 62.

107 *South Indian Report of Epigraphy*, 1927, p. 112, No. 8, date 1340.

108 *E. C.*, IX, Cm. 105, Bn. 111.

109 *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43.

This prince, afterwards Ballāla IV, was familiarly known as Hampiah or Hampe Vodeyar. In 1339 A.D., Ballāla III was ruling in happiness at Srī Vīra Vijaya Virūpākṣa Pura as his residential capital, and was sole monarch by his own valour.[110] There are, besides, inscriptions at Hampe referring to the Hoysalas, implying thereby that Hampe was part of the Hoysala Empire.[111] In 1355, it was Bukka's capital and in the Hoysala country ; and a number of Vijayanagara inscriptions refers to Hosapattana.[112] Bukka ascends and reigns from the great throne of the new Vijayanagara.[113] Having conquered the whole world, he built a splendid city, the city of victory, and became Mahārājādhirāja.[114] He inhabited the city that bore the name Vijaya.[115] He made Vijayanagara his permanent metropolis.[116]

Hosapattana was apparently known also as Hosabeṭṭa,[117] Hosanād,[118] where Ballāla III was ruling. Hospet of modern times cannot be a corruption of Hosapattana and even if it be, it will not negative obviously our hypothesis.

Even a cursory glance at the inscriptions of Ballāla III[119] will show the importance attached by him to Hosapattana, which is identical with Vijayanagara and the present ruins of Hampe.

What was the reason for Ballāla III attaching so much importance to Hosapattana ? We have already recounted

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110 *Mad. Ep. Rep.* A2 of 1914.

111 *A. S. I. Rep.*, 1907–08, p. 240, n. 3.

112 *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281, 1368.

113 *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256.

114 *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 373.

115 *E. C.*, II, p. 115, n. 9.

116 *E. C.*, IX, Nl. 9, 1333.

117 *E. C.*, IX, Db. 13.

118 *E. C.*, IX, M. 9.
IX, Ht. 43.
V, Ak. 66.
IX, Db. 13.
IX, Db. 21.

119 *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XIV, Pt. ii, p. 518.

in the preceding pages the fate that overtook the kingdoms of the south from the campaigns of Allauddin onwards, and the efforts of the Hindu Rajas to prevent Muhammadan advance for the preservation of the Hindu religion. Ballāla's multiplication of capitals at Tiruvuṇṇamalai and Hosapattana must have been to secure the frontiers of his Empire against foreign aggression and to be in touch with the other Hindu Rajas. The northern frontier was a vulnerable portion of his dominions and the Raja of Wārangal had been proceeded against in 1326. Like Uṇṇamale on the eastern frontier, strategy required his continuous presence on this side to guard against any onrush of the Muhammadan army.

The distinguished geologist, Lt. Newbold in 1845 described the ruins in these words: "The whole of the extensive site occupied by the ruins of Bijianugger on the south bank of the Tumbuddra, and of its suburb Anegundi on the northern bank, is occupied by great, bare piles of bosses and granite and granitoidal gneiss, separated by rocky defiles and narrow rugged valleys encumbered by precipitated masses of rock. Some of the larger flat-bottomed valleys are irrigated by aqueducts from the river.............. The peaks, tars and logging stones of Bijianugger and Anegundi indent the horizon in picturesque confusion, and are scarcely to be distinguished from the more artificial ruins of the ancient metropolis of the Deccan, which are usually constructed with blocks quarried from their sides, and lie in grotesqueness of outline and massiveness of character with alternate airiness and solidity exhibited by nature in the nicely poised logging stones and columnar piles, and in the walls of the prodigious cuboidal blocks of granite which often crest and top her massive domes and ridges in natural cyclopean masonry."[120] The great city of Vijayanagara was situated near very steep mountains. It had a circumference of over sixty miles. The walls of the fortress were carried up to the hills, enclosing the valleys at their foot.

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[120] Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 6.

"If a straight line be drawn on the map of India from Bombay to Madras," says Sewell in his monumental work, *The Forgotten Empire*,[121] "about halfway across will be found the river Tungabhadra, formed of two rivers, Tunga and Bhadra, which flows in a wide circuit north and east to join the Krishna not far from Kurnool. In the middle of its course, the Tungabhadra cuts through a wild rocky country lying about forty miles north-west of Bellary, and north of the railway line from Bellary to Dharwar." It is certain that Anegondi was in existence as a fortified town about 1330 A.D. the residence of a family of chiefs in possession of a small state. In the earlier days, the lofty hills of granite in the area must have been utilised by them for erecting a strong fortress with its base on the stream. The advantage of the stream was that it was not fordable at any point within many miles from that place, the water was running in it throughout the year and in all seasons and during times of flood, it would overflow its banks besides forming a turbulent rushing torrent with dangerous falls at several points in its course.[122]

After the fall of the Anegondi chiefs, who probably were feudatories of the Hoysalas, the Hindu Rajas must have felt the other side of the Tungabhadra river more secure for defence against the Muhammadan invaders from the north. Anegondi was a good defence against southern advances because of the river between an hostile army and the Anegondi kingdom, but it was found powerless to resist an attack from the north. It must therefore be that Ballāla III and Harihara after him realised the importance of a river frontier and raised a capital at Vijayanagara.

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[121] *Ib.*, p. 6.
[122] *Ib.*, p. 6.

THE MYTH OF WAR IN HEAVEN AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

BY M. YAMUNACHARYA, M.A.

WAR in Heaven is an old world-myth. It figures in the oldest Scripture of humanity, the Vedas. And it appears in the war between the dragon Vṛtra and Indra, Vṛtra being the Asura, and Indra, the Deva, depicted in various forms in the Ṛg-Veda and elsewhere. In the Samhitas (*e.g.*, Yajus) Devāsura Yuddha is an oft-repeated incident. (*Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda Samhita*, I. 5.1). In the Manichæn doctrine and the Zend Avesta, this idea reappears again as the two primeval dual forces, the Ahura-Mazda (Ormuzd) and Ahriman. The former is the good spirit, the latter the evil. The dragon of the Veda (Vṛtra) is Ahi, the serpent, and Ahri the Zend for the Sanskrit Ahi, is the old serpent. The Ahi is the Vṛtrāsura. In the *Talmud*, we have Asmodeus (the destroyer), the king of the devils. In the Bible, he is Satan who tempts Jesus and he is Māra in the legendary life of the Buddha.

Wars between gods are a common feature of Greek as well as of Hindu Mythology. Wars between the two deities, Śiva and Viṣṇu, and between the two cults called after them came to be variously depicted in the Purāṇas. To choose a typical instance, in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* there breaks out a war between Śiva and Viṣṇu in connection with the Bāṇāsura legend, Bāṇa being a demon, whose guardian deity Śiva became. Kṛṣṇa, the incarnation of Viṣṇu, fought with him ; and two fevers came into existence the Śiva-Jvara and Viṣṇu-Jvara, the latter vanquishing the former. Śiva deserted Bāṇa to his fate and Kṛṣṇa chopped off Bāṇa's thousand arms. Such stories of rivalry appear in the Purāṇas, *ad libitum.*

The idea of good and evil forces in perpetual and eternal conflict with each other took definite philosophical shape in the doctrine of Manichæism. Dr. L. Thorndike writes : "In the early years of the Sassanid dynasty, Mani or Manes had

again presented the doctrine of two great contending powers, the good and evil, in a form called Manichæism which invaded the Roman Empire. Later, it revived as a Christian heresy in the twelfth century in mediæval Europe, while fragments of Manichæan manuscripts have in recent years been discovered in Central Asia and Western China." (P. 286, *A Short History of Civilization.*) It is evident that Manichæism is very much later than Zend Avesta. The founder Mani belongs to the third century A.D. His system is, according to Dr. Brewer, an "agglomeration of the Magian and Christian religions interlarded with a little Buddhism." Mani was born in Babylonia. He travelled extensively in the East and is said to have visited India and China. He was much influenced by the Persian dualism, having won the recognition of the Emperor Shapur and exercising considerable influence under Hormuz. His teaching is founded on the Persian (Avestic) dualism of the two opposite powers of light and darkness, Ahura Mazda and Ahriman. (See A. A. Bevan's Article on "Manichæism" in Dr. Hasting's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII.)

In Egypt, Osiris is the holy light whose reign is interrupted by Typhon, the Spirit of Evil. Greece has Jupiter warring with the Titans. Many such parallels have been discovered by scholars between Vedic, Greek and Norse mythology.

In India, the *Bhagavad-Gīta* has a whole chapter devoted to the explication of differences of Daiva and Āsura refined into a difference between the Daivic and the Āsuric types of human character. The sixth verse of the XVI chapter of the *Gīta* states: "*dvau bhūta sargaū lokēsmin daiva āsura eva cha*", *i.e.*, there are two categories in creation, gods and demons, constantly arrayed in war in opposite camps. Another very ancient legend refers to Madhu Sūdana, or Viṣṇu, the slayer of Madhu, albeit Madhu and Kaiṭabha are the auricular defœdation of Viṣṇu, showing Viṣṇu to be the common source of the dual powers working in the universe. There is then the old legend of the churning of the Milky Ocean, connected with the Kūrma-avatāra of Viṣṇu, where Devas and Asuras pull the serpent Vāsuki wound round the mountain

acting as the churning rod, in opposite directions. Here comes out the fact that the adverse forces contribute to the success of the good forces ; for ambrosia is churned out of the Milky Ocean, which the gods alone come to possess and partake of.

These myths are not without profound philosophical significance. As they belong mostly to the childhood of the human race, the mythological stage of human progress according to August Comte, one can surmise how the idea of war between forces of good and forces of evil within the consciousness of man as well as in the external universe, where Nature seemed to present to man's vision both a benevolent as well as a malevolent aspect, found imaginative and pictorial expression in such legends and myths briefly alluded to in this article. The old Vṛtra-Indra legend is, according to one interpretation, the mythical representation of thunder and lightning smiting the clouds to release their contents, the precious rain on earth which, were it not for the smiting, would not form rain by condensation of moisture and fall on earth. This is the meaning of the war in Heaven and the metaphor is reduced to the scientific truth of dual forces or powers resulting in the Cosmic process. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat* relates how Brahman, for the sake of creation, split itself into two halves the male and female principles, or active and passive principles, in order to beget the universe. We have such cosmic principles, such as the centrifugal and centripetal forces, the positive (anode) and negative (cathode) poles of electricity, the anabolic and katabolic forces of all metabolism, protons and electrons, the positive and negative charges of electricity, inertia and motion, inspiration and expiration and the like. In the words of Rabindranath Tagore "The manifestation of the Gods is on the positive side of truth ; on the negative side are the Titans."

The archangels in Mahā-Viṣṇu's Heaven are, amongst others, Ananta and Garuḍa. The former is the Śeṣa (serpent) and the latter, the celestial bird of knowledge. Racially they are enemies but in Heaven Ananta is not the fallen angel, Lucifer. There is another legend, however, where the serpent

Suparṇa craves the protection of Viṣṇu who commands Garuḍa, the racial bird-enemy of the serpent race, to take him under his special protection, laying aside his enmity under divine dispensation. This, perhaps, illustrates the idea that in God, there is no enmity and in His Divine Being all is amity and harmony. The opposites are reconciled in Him. The *Bhagavad-Gīta* states this truth in the line: "*na me dveshyosti na priyah*" *i.e.*, I have neither foe nor favourite. Another instance where the serpent or the evil one becomes subservient to the power that makes for righteousness is the following. We have the familiar Hindu symbol of the Śeṣa-Śāyin or Mahā Viṣṇu sleeping on the Śeṣa, the serpent. It is a bed formed of three and a half spiral turns of the serpent's coil. The serpent floats on the Kṣira Sāgara or the Milky Ocean. One is reminded by this image of the spiral nebulæ in the inter-stellar spaces, which are said to be the home and the cradle where worlds are in formation. The Milky Way, the galaxy is white like milk (the Kshīra-abdhi on which Viṣṇu reclines). Worlds evolve out of this Ocean. Evolution is spiral, like the folds of Śeṣa.

The above instances suffice us to show that the serpent plays a very important part in the mythology or folklore of the people of all lands. The vicissitudes of the serpent idea are many and varied in the religious beliefs of people of different countries. The serpent was sacred to Moses who raised an image for it and it is strange that the same serpent is the evil one in the Garden of Eden.

These myths have a bearing on the warring elements of human nature. According to one school of psycho-analysis, the one represented by Jüng, the racial unconscious recapitulates itself in the individual unconscious and individual dreams weave for themselves a fantastic pattern which gives a clue to the racial part of human nature. That we have two natures within ourselves, the higher and the lower selves, is a fact familiar enough to every one. By constant warfare, exercising our free-will, we recognize our true nature which is said to be inherently good. What we regard as the evil is the fuel that

feeds the flame of good. Goodness lies in actively combating evil. Such doctrine as this is the essence of active morality. Good then needs evil for its self-expression. We may quote here what Babu Bhagavandas writes in his *Krishna* (p. 8) as pertinent to the point raised here. "In fact, the great Jaina writers, whose versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* are more 'rationalistic' have a very illuminative theory that the Avatārās always come in opposed pairs, as Nārāyaṇa and Prati-Nārāyaṇa, the former representing the good force, and the latter the evil, as Rāma and Rāvaṇa; and history is fullest and vividest when the two forces of love and hate are battling most strongly. Each requires the other for its own Svarūpa-siddhi, self-expression, self-manifestation. And the more intense the opposition of the two, the more clear the definition of each. Gods and Titans, Angels and Devils, need each other."

Man is a Dr. Faustus placed between the angels of good and Mephistopheles, the Evil Spirit. Man is endowed with the power to choose what he will in the faith that

"The drunken Forces of Evil
Have shattered all bonds and are rushing wildly to ruin."

(*Rabindranath Tagore's Mānasi.*)

AN IMAGE AT HAMPI

By S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L.

Many of you, who have visited Hampi and rambled through the vast ruins of the ancient capital of the Great Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara, will not have failed to notice the little shrine behind the *Virūpākṣa* temple in its compound. In the place of what is believed to be the image of *Vidyāraṇya*, the accredited founder of the Hindu Empire and preserver of the national religion and *dharma* of the Hindus, now stands a seated figure of *Vidyāraṇya*, with the hand in the pose of *Vyākhyāna Mudra.* The image is recent and was installed by the admirers of that great sage. In front of that image is the ancient *Śrī Cakra* which has, apparently, stood the test of time and withstood the onslaught and mad fury of the marauder.

The Image and Sri Cakra

The question naturally arises, what was the image which previously occupied the position where you find the modern image to-day? It must undoubtedly be of a sage who, whether he be the founder of the Vijayanagara Empire or not, was held in the greatest esteem in his day and who was a worshipper of *Śrī Cakra* which, thanks to a merciful providence, is still preserved to us in its original place and in its pristine purity. It is stated locally that there was an image of *Vidyāraṇya* which was removed. That image is not to be found in the Śankara Mutt at Hampi or in its precincts and, in all probability, is lost to us unless it be that the image in its vicinity in the same court-yard and in the next room occupied by the God of Eternity, *Gaṇeśa* has to be identified as such. In that case the problem arises whether we are right in identifying that image with that of *Vidyāraṇya.*

That in the Niche

That image is to be found fixed to the wall, on the left hand side, as you face the God *Gaṇeśa.* It is a very ancient

THE NEW VIDYARANYA IMAGE AND SRI CAKRA

THE IMAGE AT HAMPI

image and, before referring to it, it might be permissible to invite your attention to the locality in brief for a moment. For, as you turn to the right in the passage and walk across the entrance down to the path through which you are led down to the wilds and bends of the Tungabhadra river, you notice a small niche under the protecting base of a huge tree amidst rocks and boulders presenting a scene where, as Sewell will tell you, the sages past would like to dwell in peace, in solitude and obscurity in the midst of gorgeous splendour around. And I wonder whether Sewell had not this part in mind when he wrote of the hermitage where *Vidyāraṇya*, if there was one, might have dwelt. It is interesting to observe that in this niche is an image of what is called "the Sringeri Bhaṭṭa." Nothing is known about it, so far. But the picturesque and weird surroundings would certainly recall to your mind the wonderful and arresting description of Sewell.

The Yogic Posture

Let us now go back to the image which is the subject of the present note. This ancient image, which it is somewhat difficult to identify, is seated in a *Matsya*, a fish, in a Yogic posture, *Bhadrāsana*, its left leg on its right, its hand left over right, both resting upon the yogic *daṇḍa* called *Yogadaṇḍa*. The face is beatific: Large lobes of the ear hanging down, as in some images of the Buddha, signifying wisdom, while the crown is adorned with *Jaṭāmakuṭa*, to which we are used in the avatārs of *Śiva* as *Kapardin*. You will also notice a band above the waist round the chest, *Udarabandha*. The folds of his panche are also indistinctly observable on the image.

I have had the advantage of a discussion with several of my distinguished friends, but I am sorry to say that the results are somewhat inconclusive. Certain observations which I am going to make are purely tentative, non-technical and from the layman's point of view.

Who is Kriyasakti?

Attempts have been made, in the past, to identify *Vidyāraṇya* with *Rājaguru Kriyāśakti*. Time was when

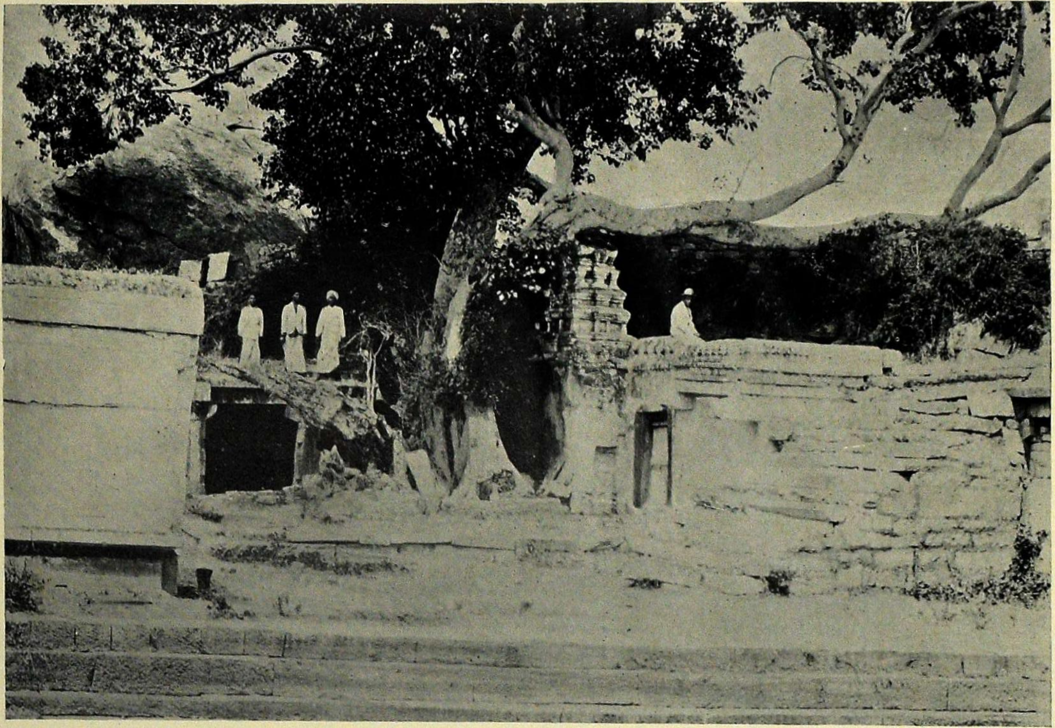
Mādhava was said to be not merely *Vidyāraṇya* but *Sāyana* himself. The controversy between the identity of *Mādhava*, brother of *Sāyana* and *Mādhava Mantrin* has ended. There is no doubt that *Vidyāraṇya* is neither *Mādhava Mantrin* nor *Sāyana*. Dispute rages round the identity of *Vidyāraṇya* with the brother of *Sāyana*. This is hardly the place for a discussion of this problem. I do not believe it will be contended that *Vidyāraṇya* is identifiable with *Vidyā Śankara*. The difficulty in identifying *Vidyāraṇya* with *Kriyāśakti*, if there was one, has been set out by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry and Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar.

Symbol Explained

In the light of these observations with whom are we to identify this image? The fish is the symbol of one school of *Haṭayoga* philosophy presided over *Matsyendranātha* called after him. One of the brothers of *Mādhavācārya* was called *Bhoganātha*. The disciples of *Matsyendranātha* had their names ending in "Nātha". If that be so, this might well represent *Mādhava*, brother of *Bhoganātha*. Then the irresistible inference would be that *Mādhava* was *Vidyāraṇya* whose image is before you. *Vidyāraṇya* was more than a royal personage and the founder of an Empire and the *Udarabandha* and *Jaṭāmakuṭa* would perhaps signify the high favour which *Vidyāraṇya* commanded at the court of Vijayanagara.

Madhava Mantrin

One may enter a caveat at this identification and suggest the image to be that of *Kriyāśakti* from the pose and the fish *āsana*. But we have to remember that *Vidyāraṇya* and *Mādhava* with whom he is identified generally were disciples of *Vidyāśankara* of whom *Mādhava Mantrin*, the pupil of *Kriyāśakti*, was also a disciple. Thus, another alternative presents itself. Is the image likely to be that of *Vidyāśankara*? Should that be so, a great deal of difficulty will have been solved. The rulers of Vijayanagara might have been inspired by *Vidyāraṇya* to instal the image of *Vidyāśankara* after whom



SRINGERI BHATTA SHRINE

the great temple at Sringeri was constructed and to whose memory *Mādhava Mantrin* dedicated a village as an *agrahāra* called *Vidyāśankara Pura.*

Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, who recorded his impressions of a tour of inspection to the ruins of Hampi about 1918–19, observed that behind the *Virūpākṣa* temple at Hampi was a shrine containing a seated figure of *Vidyāraṇya* in a teaching pose, 1½ feet high on a spot said to be his *Samādhi.* The modern image on the pedestal behind the *Śrī Cakra* is apparently modelled on an old one, which unfortunately is now missing. It is difficult to say how that image got lost and undoubtedly this leads to fresh complications in the decipherment of the image at Hampi.*

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* Delivered at the Oriental Conference in December 1935.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA.*

By Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib
C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.

It is my privilege this year to invite you into our midst and indicate briefly the present position of research in this branch of human studies. As a humble fellow-worker in the vast field, I value this privilege highly. If I cannot add materially to your deliberations, there is little doubt that I can learn much from them. My connection with this branch of study goes back to 1900. During the past 35 years, much valuable work has been done in this country, on both the physical and cultural sides of Anthropology. Many have contributed towards the accumulation of our knowledge in these domains. I need hardly refer to the labours of patient investigators like Risley, Thurston, Rangachar, Hutton, Mills, Hodgson, Bray, Roy, Nanjundaiya, Russel, Hira Lal, Anantha Krishna Iyer and others who have laboured in the field. So far as India is concerned, in the field of synthesis, on the physical side, Risley might be said to hold the ground especially with European students of Anthropology. But it is undoubted that both his theory and mode of approach have received severe blows from Indian and European ethnologists alike, while the Mohenjo-Daro discoveries have exploded his conclusions almost to the last degree. Recent writers of note in the sociological field have done much to advance research on the cultural side. In the Pre-historic field, Mr. Panchanan Mitra has produced a work which is suggestive to a degree. On the descriptive side, we have had a large accretion to our ranks. Besides those who are better known and whom I have already mentioned, there are a number of younger students whose earnestness in the field deserves a warm word of commendation. Mr.

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* Presidential Address delivered by Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao to the "Ethnology and Folklore" section at the Indian Oriental Congress at the Meeting held at Mysore, on the 31st December 1935.

Karandikar's study of *Hindu Exogamy* is a notable contribution to the study of an obscure subject, while Dr. Ghurye's work on *Caste and Race in India* is a real addition to the literature on that great topic of sociological interest. Sir Charles Bell's fine work on the *People of Tibet* will rank perhaps as the first systematic description we have from a trained observer of the customs and habits of that really little-known people. In the field of physical Anthropology, Dr. Guha of the Indian Zoological Survey has rendered valuable service. The work of Mr. J. H. Hutton deserves special mention. He has given a real impetus to the study of the tribes in North-Eastern India. His studies of the *Angami Nagas* and *Lema Nagas* and other tribes living in the neighbourhood of Assam are typical of the excellent work he has done. Lt.-Col. Gurdon's *Khasis*, the Rev. Sidney Endles' *Kacharis*, Mr. Hodson's *Naga Tribes* of Manipur and Col. Shakespeare's the *Lushi Kuki Clans* have added much to our knowledge of the tribes of this region. The latest *Report of the Census of India* is another valuable addition to our knowledge of the Ethnology of India. In Folklore, we have workers of note; but it still needs greater attention. The inter-hemospheric diffusion of Indian folk-tales has to be worked out in far greater detail, if we are to realise aright the extent to which India has contributed towards world culture early in its life. Apart from the historical value attaching to such diffusion, the scientific importance of the study of folklore in India cannot be over-estimated.

The late Dr. E. Thurston

It is our duty, on an occasion like this, to recall the work of one of these prominent workers who has just passed away from our midst. Need I say I refer to the late Dr. Edgar Thurston who, more than anybody else, did much to popularise the study of Ethnology in India many years ago? To a well-trained mind, he brought to bear an assiduity of application that was truly marvellous. Amidst his varied and exacting departmental duties, he found time to take a personal interest in the study of man in the South of India. He travelled

widely, inquired patiently, collected carefully, and wrote incessantly during the whole time he was in charge of the Madras Museum. When the Indian Ethnographic Survey was organised in 1902, he was appointed its Director in Southern India, in which was included the States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin for anthropometrical purposes. He treated this area as an ethnological block and thought that the physical data should be worked out by one hand to avoid undue variations in the results. I happened to travel with him throughout this State and can say he made a fine companion and a splendid chief. His keen sense of honour saved him from many a pitfall. He believes in hard work and expected nothing but the best that one could give. His labours finally took shape in the seven volumes of the encyclopædic work known as the *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*. His death, though at the advanced age of 80 years, is a great loss to Indian Ethnology and, as a pioneer, his valuable work requires to be remembered.

Advance in Ethnological Studies

Within the past thirty years, a great deal has been done to advance the study of Ethnology in India. The study of the races that make up India has been pursued with great vigour, though I must say that in recent years the interest of the Government has somewhat lagged behind. With the completion of the survey inaugurated in 1901, the Government of India and with them the State Governments have shown little inclination to find the funds required to give the next push required for furthering research in our field of study. The survey took some eight years and, as one result of it, we have had Provincial and State volumes of Ethnographic studies almost in every part of India. In our own State, you will be glad to hear that Diwan Bahadur L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer has just issued the only volume that had been left over in the Mysore series. The value of these different series lies not so much in the matter they enshrine, valuable though it be; but in the extended vision they have given to the field

worker of the work that yet lies before him. The next line of advance must be to intensify study in carefully chosen areas of selected tribes, particularly of the more primitive type. I may say the notes so far collected in most of the volumes of the different series of *Castes and Tribes* have to be further verified and, in a great many cases, even completely re-written from personal inquiries made by competent scholars or well-trained field associates. On the physical side, the anthropometrical part calls for further attention. Larger data are required, if we are to arrive at anything like satisfactory deductions. On the purely social side, I should like to see an impetus given to the study, on the one hand, of social organisation and religion; and, on the other, of social institutions and beliefs. The economics, the laws, the ethics and the æsthetic ideas that influence a group or community are other important topics for study, if the social side is to be rightly appreciated. The aspects mentioned can best be studied only if the people and the Government are induced to take a closer interest in the practical importance of the study of man, his environment and what he makes of it or it makes of him. Cultural ideas spread, it is true, imperceptibly; but the racial instinct is there and with it environment plays a great part. The scientific study of men—of Anthropology in its most general aspects and in its several sub-divisions—requires a scheme, an organisation, and a set of trained workers who should be devoted to their labours. One of the duties of this section should be, I think, to adumbrate a suitable scheme of work, set up an organisation and make it responsible for its being put into operation and get together a band of students who could be trained for such a work. The Universities in India may be expected to help in this connection, while the Government of India and the Indian Provincial and State Governments may be requested to assist on a basis that may not prove too onerous for them.

The Race Problem To-Day

The Government to-day is confronted by problems in which race, nationality and community are largely concerned.

If anything can help to solve what seem the larger issues of the politics to-day—and they are those connected with nationality and race, caste and creed, and community and communalism—it is the further study of man the world over. The West amidst the many blessings it has conferred has, unfortunately to itself and to the wider world it has influenced and is influencing to-day, treated its own culture as an ultimate fact. The student of man, as is the anthropologist, is bound to take a naturally different view. Judging from the biological point of view, he takes a more universal view of human history. To him civilization has a relative, not an absolute, value. His view is that it is the duty of man to study man in his various environmental spheres and leave it, as Prof. Marett well puts it, to the future to adjust the focus better, to decivilize history, as it were, in the sense of humanizing it more impartially and completely. To illustrate the proposition from a modern example, can we say, with what is happening in Abyssinia, that Italy is more "civilized" than Ethiopia, though it may claim it has no slaves within its own territories? Verily, verily, even Mussolini will have to admit that there is even to-day "the trace of savagery in the most civilized people". The degree of actual civilization attained by any group of people is as nothing compared to the de-humanization it might have undergone in the process or the elemental weaknesses it might carry with it. Mussolini would, perhaps, better appreciate the so-called "savage" if he knew that racial temperaments vary and that the "savage" Negro may be more musical than the civilized "West". It would, perhaps, be news to him that this is really so according to the physiologists who have given attention to temperamental tests among the races of mankind. The aids that anthropological studies afford to the practical administrator are great and, apart from that aspect of the matter, there is no question whatever that they afford a basis for the liberation of mankind from the thraldom of ideas of "inferiority" and "superiority", which, in the racial sphere, have done and are doing such incalculable damage to the advance of humanity along right lines. Attaching himself

to no theory of ultimate value, the anthropologist, with the wealth of data he collects and lays bare, points to show how man has civilized, how he has dominated the world, how he is able to live longer than other evolved animals, how in his historical evolution through the ages, he has "advanced from a less to a more satisfying kind of experience" thus enriching the meaning of life. If it were more generally appreciated that mankind, however it may differ to-day according to its divisions and sub-divisions, has to be traced back to one species—the existing species *Homo Sapiens*—perhaps it would better appreciate the need for the cultivation of a common humanity. How many in a thousand know that the Turki and the Ainu are Caucasie and perhaps Alpine? How many know that the Dravidians of Southern India and Ceylon belong to the Mediterranean Race, which itself belongs to the White or Caucasie branch of *Hominidæ*? How many, again, know that the Alpine Race includes the European Alpine and the Asiatic Armenoid branches, to the former belonging the Swiss, the South Germans, Slavs, French, North Italians, the Persians, Tajiks and the mountaineers of the Pamirs, among whom a type prevails which, according to Seligman, tallies almost exactly with the Swiss representatives of the Alpine Race, while the latter include those now inhabiting Armenia, the Levant, Mesopotamia and South Arabia? How many, again, realize that the Mediterranean Race includes the inhabitants of not only the Mediterranean peninsulas and islands but also a part of Arabia and Africa, north of the Sahara (including the Berbers) and crossing Sahara invade the land of the Negro? And, finally, how many know that the Japanese represent a large infusion of Ainu blood, itself belonging to the Caucasie is not Alpine Race? The point to grasp and stress is that humanity would be saved, if humanity were made to know how intermixed it is in its origins, how intermixed its claims and rights are and how intermixed are its duties and responsibilities towards itself.

Importance of Ethnological Studies.

So much for what the student of man owes to his fellow-beings the world over. Nearer home, an advance in the Ethnological studies in India itself would mean much for the dissemination of sounder ideas as to the true racial origins of the larger components of the population and how they are interconnected. Such sounder ideas are, to-day, a crying need. Communalism in politics cannot be overcome except by the spreading of truer ideas as to common origins, ideas which are not only scientific in character but also arrived at after patient investigations by dispassionate students under conditions which negate pre-possessions and passions of every kind.

Anthropology and the Universities.

I must now pass on to another topic of importance. Is research work in Anthropology receiving the attention it should from our Universities ? I am glad to say that the set-back that we had some years ago has now nearly disappeared. The pendulum has swung to the right and there is a movement afoot to give better recognition to its value. There is no doubt that much remains to be done. India must take her place beside the other countries in the pursuit of scientific truth in this field as well. How many are there who have studied in this country the subject of the "descent of man" or the other one of the place of origin of man, which is still described as "somewhere in Asia" ? How many have given any attention to the investigation of "blood groups" about which a great deal was expected at one time by Anthropologists ? As the result of research in the directions referred to, the idea of the "missing link", for instance, has been practically given up to-day. That is one result of the study by Anthropologists of what has been unearthed of Palæolithic Man in different parts of the world. It is now agreed that none of the early men so far discovered (Cro-Magnon, etc.) stand in the direct line of ascent of modern man. The traditional idea of the "missing link" has thus disappeared. Human evolution as I now understand it is not, as Keith well puts it, the simple

procession of forms leading from ape to man as we imagined it to be in the early Darwinian days. The true picture, according to him, is somewhat different. We have to conceive, he points out, "an ancient world in which the family of mankind was broken up into narrow groups or genera, each genus again divided into a number of species—much as we see in the monkey or ape world to-day. Then out of the great welter of forms one species became the dominant form and ultimately the sole surviving one, the species represented by the modern races of mankind." The study of "blood groups", to which the American Anthropologist L. H. Snyder has given such splendid attention, has resulted in certain very interesting deductions. Some thirty-five years ago, it was discovered that there were definite substances in the serum of some bloods that would agglutinate or clump the cells of certain other bloods; and it was further shown that on this basis blood can be classified into groups, denominated under the Roman figures I, II, III, IV, with reference to the bodies theoretically causing agglutination. The chief anthropological interest of these groups lies in the varying percentages of each group in different peoples, for it has been found that different populations—not exactly "races"—being characterized by different frequencies of the four groups. On this footing, the presence in high frequency of group I has been looked upon as an indication of the degree of isolation of the people in whom it occurs. Very interesting studies among the North American Indians, Australians, the Melanesians of New Guinea and the Negroes of West Africa have been made. Incidentally, as the result of similar researches carried out among the Hungarian Gypsies, it has been found that there is a great similarity of their blood to that of Hindus, amounting, as Dr. Seligman points out, "to practical identity" though Hungarian Gypsies left their Indian home-lands hundreds of years ago.

An Indian School of Anthropology

Such are some of the results of research in these different fields of anthropological study. I have drawn attention to

them only to indicate the vast field that we have to cover and the varied sort of work that is being done outside India. We have to wake up to a sense of reality, if we mean to progress with the rest of the researchers in this most interesting branch of human knowledge. In this connection, it is our bounden duty to recall with gratitude the great lead that the Calcutta University under the guidance of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has given to the study of Anthropology in Bengal. Madras is now engaged in organising a Department of its own and it is evidently arranging first to specialize in the study of Indian Pre-historic races. Mysore has been in the field for some years now and its work is in the capable hands of Prof. Krishna. Bombay is keen on the cultural side, while the other Universities are yet to make a move in this connection. On the purely physical side, India must hold up its name. Anatomy enters so much into the study of man that we should like to see trained anatomists turning their attention to the study of this subject. The close connection there is between Anthropology and Geology, Biology, Pre-historic Archæology, Physiology, Psychology and other sciences is seen when we begin to seriously pursue the study of Anthropology. The need for workers from among those who have studied these different branches of human knowledge is very real. An Indian school of Anthropology cannot, indeed, be built up without the aid of these specialists. Pre-historic Archæology is, indeed, too closely connected with Anthropology to be neglected to any extent.

Anthropology and the Indian Academy of Sciences

The Indian Academy of Sciences, inaugurated under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Science by our distinguished man of science Sir C. V. Raman and actively aided by the leading devotees of almost every branch of scientific study in India, ought to prove of immense value to the development of such a school, especially as the extent of co-operation that might be expected from it seems nearly unlimited. Such a school too should desire the united support of the Government of

India and the Provincial and State Governments, besides the goodwill and active aid of the Universities. A Pre-historic survey of India on the Provincial and State basis would be one of the first duties of such a school as I have urged. The fear that the pursuit of pure science as such is of little use to the country must be cast aside, for there is hardly any ground for the distinction that is sometimes sought to be made between pure science and applied science. The one really leads to the other ; indeed, the one cannot be thought of without the other. What is pure science to-day helps towards industrial advance to-morrow and thus becomes applied science, in the commonest connotation of the phrase. Industrial advance in recent years has been very largely based on the demonstrations of pure sciences. What is increasingly needed in the country to-day is the encouragement of researchers in pure science so that the country may be fully benefited not only by their work—carried out irrespective of immediate results in the applied domain—but also by the cultural reputation that may be built up by them on the solid foundation of the high scientific work done by them. It is to be hoped that the foundation of the new Academy will mean in time the building up of the needed congeries of scientific societies which might help to feed it with membership and itself be the means of help to the sister societies especially in matters where its leadership, both in the matter of the organization of research and in that of the co-operative handling of larger propositions affecting research, might mean much to the country if not to humanity itself.

Future Prospects

There is no doubt that the country is getting ready for the next advance. Our workers are daily on the increase as a glance through the pages of *Man in India*, so ably managed and edited by our good friend Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy and his associate, well indicates. Mr. Roy has been holding up the banner of progress most energetically and our thanks are due to him for his endeavours to help the cause of Anthropology in India. In this State, *The Journal of the*

Mythic Society has been the means of bringing co-workers together in this field of research. The Society maintains a section devoted to Ethnology and its work has attracted wide attention. Still a great deal remains to be done. The day when our Universities could organize expeditions for the study of Anthropological research, as the European and American Universities and learned societies do, is still in the future. Meanwhile, let us hope that annual meetings of this kind will help to create public opinion in favour of increased and unceasing research in regard to the study of man, his past and present. As the poet puts it, "the proper study of mankind is man" himself and, without that study, the progress of man is bound to be halting to a degree. So

Together let us beat this ample field,
Try what the open, what the covert yield;
The latent tracts, the giddy heights, explore
Of all who blindly creep, or sightless soar;
Eye nature's walks, shoot folly as it flies,
And catch the manners living as they rise;
Laugh where we must, be candid where we can;
But vindicate the ways of God to man.
Say first, of God above, of man below,
What can we reason, but from what we know?
* * * *
Observe how system into system runs,
What other planets circle other suns,
What varied being peoples every star.

THE GAṄGAS OF TALAKKĀD AND THEIR KOṄGU ORIGIN.

BY S. V. VISWANATHA.

THE origin of the Gaṅga line of kings in Mysore territory appears to be even more obscure than the history and chronology of the dynasty. An account of this family of kings was constructed long ago by Mr. Rice and Dr. R. A. Narasimhachar, based on some copper-plate inscriptions, the earliest of which (*e.g.*, Mercara and Nāgamangala Plates) were considered for long as spurious documents. There was, therefore, quite a heated controversy in regard to the Gaṅgas, down to Avinīta, though a certain amount of clarity in fundamental points appears to have been reached, specially, about the later kings of the dynasty. The difficulty in respect of the problem was considerably enhanced, because of the wide variations in the genealogical lists furnished by the grants on examination by the Mysore Archæological Department, and as these did not agree with the list as preserved in a classical verse dealing with the kings of the dynasty: *Koṅguṇir Mādhavaśchaiva Hariścha Vishṇugopamah*: *Mādhavopyavinītaścha*, etc. As a solution out of the difficulty, Dr. Dubreuil suggested in his "Dekhan," a collateral branch of the family, which was distinct from the original line of Talakkād, and called it the Paruvi line. Some Gaṅga inscriptions discovered by Dr. Śāma Śāstri disclosed a few more names of kings, Kṛṣṇa Varman and his sons Simha Varman and Vīra Varman. Hence, he was not satisfied with the conclusion of the Professor at Pondichery and found the necessity for another short line of sovereigns, which he called the Kaivāra branch. In the *Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for* 1929–30, an attempt has been made to sum up the position so far. To give a short shrift to the tedious and extensive lines of enquiry involved, it will be best to present the conclusions reached up to the time of the king Avinīta in the following genealogical tables :—

A.— One family (mainly based on Devarahaḷḷi stone inscriptions, Kūḍaatur grant of Mādhava, and Keregallūr Plates of Mādhava taken along with the inscriptions previously noticed).

Koṅguṇi Varman
|
Mādhava Varman
|
Ārya Varman, *alias* Hari Varman *alias* Kṛṣṇa Varman.
|
Mādhava *alias* Viṣṇugopa *alias* Simha Varman — Vīra Varman
|
Mādhava
|
Avinīta, etc., etc.

B.— Second branch (Paruvi)—Dubreuil, based on Penukoṇḍa and Bendigānahaḷḷi Plates.

Koṅguni
|
Mādhava
|
Hari — Ārya Varman

Hari
|
Viṣṇugopa
|
Mādhava
|
Avinīta

Ārya Varman
|
Mādhava Varman
|
Kṛṣṇa Varman

C.— The third branch (Dr. Śāstri) (Chukuṭṭūr Plate) (Kaivāra).

Koṅguṇi
|
Mādhava
|
Kṛṣṇa Varman
|
Simha Varman — Vīra Varman

The possibility, as suggested by Dr. M. H. Krishna, of taking the Gaṅga family as made of only one stock, against the results of Dr. Dubreuil and Śāma Śāstri, and based on

the assumption that Hari Varman had the surnames Ārya and Kṛṣṇa and that Viṣṇugopa had the *aliases* Mādhava and Simha is little more than a surmise and does not seem to be warranted by the available evidence. Nor does there appear to be a necessity or adequate basis for the formation of a third collateral line, as Dr. Śāstri would have.

The correct genealogy of the Gaṅgas, as far as the evidence available will help us to frame, would seem to be as follows: To give the line as far as the time of Avinīta, the son of Mādhava (Taḍaṅgāla).

```
                              Koṅguṇi
                                 |
                              Mādhava
                                 |
          ---------------------------------------------------
          |                                                 |
(Talakkād Original)                                     (2nd line)
          |                                                 |
     Hari Varman                                       Ārya Varman
          |                                                 |
     Vishṇugopa                                Mādhava (Simha Varman)
          |                                           |
     Mādhava (Taḍaṅgāla)                    (Vijaya) Kṛṣṇa Varman
          |                                           |
     Avinīta, etc., etc.                  ------------------------
                                          |                      |
                                     Simha Varman           Vīra Varman
```

Kṛṣṇa Varman of Table C and his two sons, figuring as the son and grandsons of Mādhava *alias* Simha Varman. As the branch line became extinct with the death of Vīra Varman, the only recognised line of the West Gaṅgas was what was known as the Talakkād line, which became one again with Mādhava the father of Avinīta.

The entire position was summed up by Mr. Narasimhachar in 1922 with reference to the Kūḍalūr Plates of Māra Simha, the longest record as yet discovered.

"The Gaṅgas ruled over the greater part of the present Mysore country, their territory being known as Gangavāḍi, a ninety-six thousand province. The existing Gangādikāras, properly Gangavāḍikāras, who form the largest section of the agricultural population of Mysore even now, represent their

former subjects. Their earliest capital was Kuvalāla or Kolar, situated to the west of the Pālār river in the eastern part of Mysore. The capital was subsequently removed to Talakkād on the Kāveri, which continued as such until its capture by the Coḷas at the beginning of the eleventh century when the Gaṅga sovereignty came to an end. Though Talakkād was the permanent capital, the royal residence was removed to a more central position at Manne or Mānyapura to the north-west of Bangalore in the eighth century in the time of Srīpuruṣa during whose long reign the Gaṅga kingdom may be said to have reached the height of prosperity. The Gaṅgas are stated to be of the Jānhavīya family and of the Kaṅvāyana-gotra, and are usually styled Koṅguṇivarma-dharma-mahādhirāja (or mahārājādhirāja). They had an elephant for their crest. The titles Satyavākya and Nītimārga are, as a rule, applied alternately to the later kings. The foundation of the Gaṅga kingdom is attributed to the agency of a Jaina teacher of the name of Simha Nandi. The chronology suggested by Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil on Page 107 of his *Ancient History of Deccan* appears to be reasonable and may be provisionally adopted."—(*Calcutta Oriental Conference Proceedings.*)

The following points of interest are brought out in the foregoing account of the dynasty:—

The association of the origin of the dynasty with a Jaina teacher Simha Nandin, and with the Jānhavīya-kula.

The kings bore for their title Koṅguṇivarma-dharma-mahādhirāja (or mahārājādhirāja) and had the elephant for their crest.

The question of their original capital—Talakkad or Kolar

The Pallava intervention in the political history of the dynasty had not been sufficiently noticed in Mr. Narasimhachar's summary. It is stated in both the Penukoṇḍa and the Kūḍaḷūr Plates that Ārya Varman was duly installed on the throne by Simha Varman the Pallava Mahārāja and his son by the illustrious Pallava king Skanda Varman.

(*A.R.*, Madras, 1913–14.) Perhaps there was some dispute in regard to the succession after Mādhava I, as a result of which Ārya Varman was placed as the head of another line, with the aid of the Pallavas. As this "Pallava-Gaṅga" line became extinct after Vīra Varman, the dynasty was continued as one stock from the time of Mādhava Taḍaṅgāla. This Pallava intervention which appears to receive some support from the assumption of such names as Viṣṇugopa and Simha Varman by the early kings of the Gaṅga dynasty, not to mention the general title "Varman," could be accounted for only on the supposition that the territory over which the sovereignty of the Gaṅgas was recognised may have originally belonged to the Pallavas under whom they should have held a position of vassalage. The Halsi Plates state (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, 25) that the Kadamba king was a "very fire of destruction of the Pallavas" while mentioning his war with the Gaṅgas, who were obviously their allies. Our evidence seems thus to establish clearly the Gaṅga-Pallava relationship from the earliest times in the history of a branch of the Gaṅga family. As it is found that political alliances between dynasties of kings depended on marriage alliances, it is not improbable that even the first king of the Gaṅga family had taken to wife a princess from the Pallava line. The Pallavas do not appear to have possessed any territory or to have extended their rule over the Mysore country, in any period of their history. It is also noteworthy that the Pallava overlordship is attested by the grants of two of the earliest kings of the Gaṅga dynasty. Whence came the relation of the Pallavas and the Talakkād country? This has perhaps to be sought elsewhere and not in Mysore. Mr. Narasimhachar says that the seat of government of the Gaṅgas was originally Kuvalālapura or Kolar from which it was changed to Talakkād. It is not possible for him to say who effected the change and why. On the other hand, some of the earliest grants of the dynasty state that the first king was enthroned at Skandapura.

The Salem District included in the Koṅgu region and probably the most important portion of it is practically divided

into two parts, the northern half watered by the Pinākini and the southern half by the Kāveri. The southern portion was and is even now known as Tala-ghat ; while the Hosur Taluk in the north which fringes on Mysore is styled as Bāla-ghat. This northern portion was in very ancient times in the possession of the Kurumbas who preceded the Pallavas and the southern part was held by their neighbours, the kings of Koṅgu. By the fifth century A.D., the Koṅgu kings seem to have pushed forward as far as Nandi-durga and they are seen later to have been actually in possession of Harihar in the centre of the Mysore country. (Sewell, II.) This invasion of the Koṅgus, whatever be the circumstances that necessitated it, should have taken place only through the Pallava territory and not without the connivance of or resistance from these neighbours, hostile to them by the simple rule of nature, as stated by Kauṭilya and other framers of Hindu political codes. The alliance of the Gaṅgas of Mysore and the Pallavas and the fact of the anointment of two early kings of the Gaṅga dynasty by contemporary Pallava sovereigns amply bear out the assumption that the Pallavas should have helped Koṅguṇi Varman to establish himself at Talakkād in Mysore.

The Koṅgu dynasty of kings was in existence from at least as early as the commencement of the Christian era. The *Koṅgu-Dēśa-Rājākkal* gives the following list of early Koṅgu kings, whose dates are uncertain :—

Vīra Rāya Cakravartin
|
Govinda Rāya
|
Kṛṣṇa Rāya
|
Kāla Vallabha
|
Govinda Rāya
|
Kannara (Kumāra) Deva
|
Tiru Vikrama

The very name Koṅguṇi Varman of the first of the Gaṅga kings, the recurrence in the Gaṅga list of a few names of the early Koṅgu kings and the assumption by them of the title Koṅguṇivarma-dharma-mahādhirāja indicate clearly that these kings were of Koṅgu extraction. It is also of some interest that Tiru Vikrama of the Koṅgu family is stated in tradition as recorded in the *Koṅgu-Dēśa-Rājākkal*, as having been enthroned at Skandapura, where the first of the Gaṅga family was also enthroned, according to the earliest copper-plate grant of the family. To be distinguished from the old family of Koṅgus, they called themselves the "Gaṅgas" and traced their ancestry to the Jānhavīya kula which is only the family name in Sanskritised form. The seat of their capital Talakkād shows likewise that it may have been derived from that of their ancestors in the Koṅgu country. Obviously, Koṅguṇi and his family represented the immigrants into the northern country from Koṅgu Dēśa, which was under the sovereignty of the Pallavas of Kāñchīpuram. When he set up an independent family in the new capital, he was perhaps only a vassal of the contemporary Pallava king. The foundation of this new line of kings in the Mysore country was due to the encouragement and support of the Pallavas; and was perhaps set up on the model of the old royal family at Tala-ghat in the Koṅgu country. The above details might offer an explanation why the first Gaṅga grants looked spurious and of doubtful authenticity.

From the *Koṅgu-Dēśa-Rājākkal*, we learn that three early kings of the dynasty, Kāla Vallabha, Govinda and Kannara Deva, had for their minister a Jaina by name Nāga Nandi (*J.R.A.S.*, VIII). The Udayendiram grant of Hastimalla states that the Gaṅga line owed its greatness to one Simha Nandi; and numbers 67 and 397 from Śravaṇa Belgola that "the sharp sword of meditation of the venerable *arhat*, which cuts asunder the row of stone pillars, the hostile army of the *ghāti* sins was vouchsafed by Simha Nandi Muni to his disciple (Koṅguṇi Varma) also. Otherwise, how was the solid stone pillar, which barred the road to the entry of the goddess of

sovereignty, capable of being cut asunder by him with his sword?" Whether there was any relation between Nāga Nandi, the minister and preceptor of the early Koṅgus and Simha Nandi, it is not possible to ascertain. Probably, they belonged to the same *Guru-parampara.* But the mention of Jaina teachers in both cases as having been responsible for the foundation and strength of these kingdoms appears to be another point not to be dismissed as being a mere accident.

A word seems to be demanded on the insignia of the Gaṅga family which is the "elephant". The Koṅgus were famous for their fleet of elephants, as is brought out by the *Koṅgu-Dēśa-Rājākkal.* To cite only one instance from Gaṅga history in support of this, Butuga I is described as routing the Koṅgus and taking their elephants, the capture being effected by the ancient method adopted according to the *Pañchavāri*, acceptedly a South Indian treatise on the science of capture and training of elephants. It may not be unreasonable to suppose that the elephant crest of the Gaṅgas of Talakkād was itself a borrowing from their ancestors in the Koṅgu country.

Mr. Sewell makes a surmise that the Gaṅgas of Mysore came following the earliest known kings of the Koṅgu Dynasty (*Lists of Antiquities*, II, 190); but could not pursue the point further to supplement or substantiate it. The very origin of the dynasty from "Gaṅga" and the assumption of their affinity to the dubious Jānhavīya kula, against the facts stated above, may show well enough that it was meant to distinguish this line from the early Koṅgus and in their anxiety to have a separate title for themselves. It would appear from what has been indicated above that the Gaṅgas of Talakkād were only a continuation of the Koṅgu family and their history a later chapter of that of the kings of Koṅgu Dēśa.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS
No. XLVIII

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Tibetan Didactic Myth about the Outwitting of the Crow by a Frog]

THE Tibetans are a Mongoloid race of people inhabiting Tibet which is situated to the north of the Himalaya mountains. They are Buddhist by religion and have many quaint manners and customs. They have an interesting mass of folklore. Among others, they narrate the following didactic myth about the outwitting of the Crow by a Frog. It is as follows :—

THE FROG AND THE CROW

Once upon a time, a crow caught a frog and flew to the roof of a house to eat him. The crow was about to eat him when the frog said : "My father, who is very powerful and lives near by, will kill you if you eat me." So the crow removed him to another part of the roof and was about to eat him. Then the frog said : "My uncle, who is very powerful, and lives close by, will kill you if you eat me." So the crow flew with the frog to the edge of a well and was about to eat him. Then the frog said : "O crow, if you whet your beak upon that stone yonder, you will be able to eat me very easily." Hearing this, the crow flew off to a distant stone to whet her beak. As soon as this was done, the frog leapt down into the water of the well. After the crow had returned, she did not find the frog. Thinking him to be in the well, she said : "O Frog, come as I have now whetted my beak." But the frog tauntingly said : "O sister crow, I cannot get up the sides of the well." So saying, the frog dived into the water of the well, and disappeared. Thus the crow was outwitted by the frog.*

******Vide* the folktale entitled : "*The Frog and the Crow*" in *The Folktales of All Nations*. Edited by F. H. Lee. Published by George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1931, page 920.

From a study of the foregoing myth, we find that :—

(*a*) It is a didactic story and points the moral that even large and powerful creatures like the crow may be outwitted by such insignificant beings like the frog.

(*b*) Similarly, stories pointing the aforesaid moral are current among many races of people all over the globe. I have already dealt with them in my paper entitled "*On Some Beast Apologues of a New Type*" which has been published in *Man in India*, Vol. VI, pages 14–25.

(*c*) The aboriginal inhabitants of the island of Papua or New Guinea narrate a similar myth entitled "*The Ant and the Pheasant*" in which the birds are defeated by such an insignificant creature as an ant.

(*d*) The crow which is referred to in this myth must be the jungle crow (*Corvus Macrothy uchus*) which inhabits the Himalayan region and therefore must also be a denizen of Tibet.

(*e*) From this myth, we find that the Tibetans construct roofed houses and also dig wells.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS
No. XXVI

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

[The Pumpkin-Lore of the Negroes of Jamaica]

The island of Jamaica is one of West Indies or Antilles and belongs to Great Britain. It is the largest and most important of her possessions in that quarter of the globe. It is situated ninety miles south of Cuba "The Pearl of the Antilles". The majority of the population of Jamaica consists of Negroes who are very superstitious and entertain many quaint and curious beliefs about the cultivation of plants specially about the pumpkin.

Their pumpkin-lore consists of the following belief:—"Much lore attaches to the pumpkin which is a very old favourite in Negro provision-grounds. To keep the plant from running to vine and to persuade it to go about its business of bearing fruit and of bearing gourds with meat instead of 'heavy inside' called pumpkin guts, imitative magic is employed. If a person walks about too much after or before planting pumpkin-seed, the vine will also run about over the ground without bearing anything. The thing to do is to plant the first thing in the morning before eating or drinking and after planting to sit down quietly for an hour and do nothing at all or sit down flat, fold up your legs and put a stone over your head. If the vine still seems inclined to run, send a pregnant woman to tread upon it. If you point toward young pumpkins when they are coming out, they will drop off the vine; instead gesture with the clenched fist."*

If we carefully examine the aforementioned pumpkin-lore, we will find that—

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*Vide "Black Roadways," *A Study of Jamaican Folk Life*, by Martha Warren Beckwith, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1929, pages 26–27.

(*a*) These beliefs are mostly based upon imitative or sympathetic magic. The Negroes of Jamaica are the descendants of the Negro slaves who were, in the olden times, brought from Africa to work in the sugarcane plantations of the West Indies. The former have inherited from their African ancestors, who were in a low plane of culture, their superstitious beliefs. Most people in a low plane of culture are great believers in imitative magic. For instance, the Australian savages for the purpose of increasing the supply of ants and ants' eggs use an ant-pole. See the photograph at page 612 of *Children's Colour Book of Lands and Peoples*, Vol. II. In the letter-press to this picture, it is stated that "To increase by magic their supply of ants and ants' eggs for food, two men decorated with white down, and having a pole to represent a tree, go through the motions of searching for ants at the imaginary roots of the pole."

Then again at page 613 of the same work, there is a photograph illustrating the Emu man engaged in his magic rites. In this picture, this magician is depicted as hoping to make Emus plentiful for the hunters of his tribe. He wears his high, slender head-dress made of twigs, the down of birds and human hair, so that he may resemble an Emu, the ostrich-like bird of Australia.

Then again the North American Indian, eager to kill a bear to-morrow, will hang up a rude grass image of one and shoot it, believing that this symbolic act will make the real one happen.*

(*b*) The next point of importance is the Negro belief that no one should point with his forefinger at the fruits when they are growing, lest by doing so the fruits will drop off or wither away.

It is curious to find that this Negro belief is quite similar to the Bengali Hindu belief that no body should point with his forefinger at fruits or flowers which are just budding forth

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**Vide Anthropology*, by E. D. Tylor, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., London: Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1913, page 340.

or blooming and that if anybody will do so the newly budding or blooming fruits and flowers will wither away.

I am of opinion that this belief is based on another superstition that the forefinger is poisonous or emits a poisonous influence which kills the flowers and the fruits if they are pointed at with this finger.

REVIEWS

Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals

BY SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYAR, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.

(*Published by the Calcutta University. Rs.* 2–8–0 *or* 4*s.* 6*d.*)

THE subject for the Kamala Lectures was well chosen and the lecturer was perhaps one of the greatest living Indians who could elucidate the theme of the discourses. As lawyer, statesman, educationist and thinker, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar's reputation is well known for half a century and Mr. Mukerjee did well to leave the subject of the lectures to the author. For, apart from its interest to the student of social history, the evolution of Hindu moral ideals has also a valuble practical bearing upon some of the problems which affect the social life and evolution of India. The Harijan movement is, for example, an instance in point. While the reforming zeal and ambition of the legislator should not outrun the limit of discretion, the Sanatanist would not be well advised in entrenching himself behind the orthodox custom and social usage as such. The legislature has to consider whether the society is ripe for a proposed change and whether public opinion supports it. That is also the basis of the Queen's Proclamation guaranteeing religious neutrality. Any enactment necessary for suppression of inhuman, immoral or cruel practices or injurious customs is not the criterion from which all proposed legislation has to be judged. Exigencies of the times form the guiding test as we know they have formed in the past for change in the rules of the Hindu Dharma Śâstras and the Hindu ethical ideals.

For the purposes of his inquiry, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar does not consider it necessary to discuss the origin of our moral ideals in biological instincts or in the social customs and practices of primitive tribes. Nor does he go back to the ethnical origins of Hindu Society and the different streams of culture comprised in Hinduism. Much less, into the question of the Original Aryan and non-Aryan elments of Hindu culture and ethics.

Hindu Society as it existed 2,500 years ago and more, when it acquired the consciousness of a common social structure, common religious beliefs and common moral ideals furnishes a proper landmark for a beginning.

The history of the ethical ideals of the Hindus presents a few striking features. They have not remained stationary but have changed in various directions from time to time; and there is no breach of continuity in the main web of Indian culture. No catastrophic changes mark off one period from another and again it cannot be said that any particular change is not the result of a natural process of evolution or due to the germs of change inherent in the Hindu system of thought and culture. Speculations in the fields of religion and ethics are given a wide berth. Lastly, the influence of foreign culture is noticeable more in the emphasis laid upon ideas at work and in the acceleration of the process of change than in the introduction of new ideas.

Hinduism has shown a capacity to absorb the beliefs and practices of many races and tribes and while exercising an influence upon the minds and habits of the people brought within its fold, has also been influenced by its contact with them. The laws and religion of the Hindus are mostly of Brahminical origin, in the sense that the authors were mostly Brahmans. But Hinduism as ordinarily understood connotes among other things belief in the authority of the Vedas and other sacred writings of the ancient sages, in the immortality of the soul and a future life, in the existence of a supreme god, in the theory of Karma and rebirth, in the worship of ancestors, in the social organisation represented by the four main castes, in the theory of the four stages of life and in the theory of the four *Puruṣārthas* or ends of human endeavour.

The Dharma Śāstra is practically co-extensive with the whole sphere of the duties of man. The Hindu is satisfied with tracing the origin of rules to some extent to scripture or some authoritative tradition and does not press home the question as to the rational basis of the rule. The Greek thinker's speculations were based upon the foundation of pure reason and the

attempt to discover a moral standard on a rational basis has engaged the attention of modern thinkers far more than of the ancients. In early Greek thought traditional law was supreme as it was eternal and its source was lost in the darkness out of which things come ; and in India the foundations of ethics were sought to be laid upon the firm rock of revelation. The Śruti has been handed down to us by immemorial tradition. The ethical rules laid down by the Hindu scriptures are generally in accord with the notions of morality accepted in civilised communities. The Hindu Law has not in fact been as rigid and stagnant as might have been expected from the theory of the law books.

In Chapter II are considered the changes in ethico-legal conceptions, with reference to marriage, sonship, property, liability for ancestor's debts, maintenance, inheritance, stridhana, illegitimate son's right to inherit, and exclusion from inheritance. The Hindu Law as administered in our courts, modifying the earlier views of text-writers, in consonance with the progressive views of civilised society, are summarised in a remarkable manner. The next chapter deals exclusively with woman, the estimation in which she is held, the status occupied by her in society and the treatment accorded to her. These are justly regarded as marks of the degree of civilisation and culture attained in any country. Passing on from caste and slavery dealt with in the next two chapters, we reach law and justice in Chapter VI. The social order of the Hindus was founded not upon the comparatively modern democratic principle of equality, but upon the conception of a social hierarchy based upon caste and sanctioned by religion. Then again the institution of Kingship was created by God for the protection of the people and the King was allegorically represented as an incarnation of the eight guardian deities of the world. While supposed to possess divine power, he was not above the law but bound to observe and enforce the precepts of the Dharma Śāstra and his subjects were bound to obey all lawful orders and decrees issued by him. Reference is also made to the principles of ethics governing the conduct of

duels and battles and wars. Amongst miscellaneous topics in Chapter VIII are included ahimsa, cleanliness, restriction on foreign languages and travel, penances and *Sanātanadharma*. The doctrine of Karma naturally occupies a prominent place in the evolution of Hindu moral ideals, as being one of the essential tenets of the Hindu religion and profoundly influencing Hindu thought and life. It is based upon certain beliefs and assumptions: (1) Every act or deed is followed by consequences, not merely of a physical but of a mental and moral character as well and it produces an effect upon the character, disposition, instincts and tendencies of the agent. *Samskāra* or *vāsanā* indicates the physical, mental and moral traits with which a person is imbued and which emanate from previous experiences or actions. They form part of his personality and are borne by him in his life-time and carried into a future existence. (2) The consequences of a person's acts not being fully worked out in this life demand a future life for their fruition. (3) Inequalities in worldly position conflict with our sense of justice and our conception of the benevolence of God call for an explanation compatible with the moral Government of the universe. (4) The doctrine of the immortality of the soul which justifies the belief in a future existence of the individual soul equally justifies its pre-existence. And (5) Happiness or suffering may be due to circumstances beyond man's control indeed but do not rule out the idea being derived from a former birth. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar concedes that the doctrine of Karma is not successful in solving all the problems of good or evil but he believes it is much more than a theory. It affords at least as satisfactory a basis for morality consistent with our conception of the goodness and benevolence of God as under any other system.

Any work on the evolution of Hindu moral ideals will not be complete without a consideration of certain fundamental questions relating to the means and end of conduct, conception of duty, duty for its own sake and *adhikāribheda*. After adverting to the charges levelled against Hindu ethics, the author proceeds to refer to some of the principles peculiar

to Hinduism. They are: (1) The doctrine of Karma, (2) Self-discipline and self-control for the regulation and co-ordination of human impulses and instincts for the perfection of character, (3) Ahimsa, (4) Kindness to lower animals, (5) Toleration, to which Svāmi Vivēkānanda drew particular attention at Chicago before the Parliament of Religions, (6) Freedom of thought, (7) Stress on obligations before rights, (8) The metaphysical doctrine of the identity of the *Ātman* or individual soul with the Brahman or Universal Soul, (9) The *Purusārthas* and (10) *Adhikāribheda*. The ethical conceptions embodied in Hindu literature have moulded the life and thought of Hindus for ages and have now been brought into contact with those of the rest of the civilised world and are undergoing transformation under the impact of new economic conditions, scientific knowledge, Western civilisation and literature and the social and political movements and ideas of Europe and America.

The joint Hindu family tended to check the growth of individualism and fostered the habit of mutual help within the family circle ; but it has proved unsuitable to modern conditions and yielded under the pressure of the influence of Western thought. Our ideas and outlook on life have been profoundly guided and controlled by the culture of the West permeating the Indian Sun. Trade and commerce, nationality and patriotism, scientific progress, expansion of knowledge, growth in numbers have all contributed towards the changed conditions of modern life in this country. These have practically reduced ritualism and ceremonial observances to a minimum and it is only occasionally they play any prominent part. The process of disintegration in the system of caste relating particularly to restrictions on occupations is complete while that concerning inter-dining is going on apace. That relating to inter-marriage is also slowly giving way in sub-sections of the main caste. Women are gaining ground and claiming equality with men. "What India needs is to realise itself, to broaden out her spiritual heritage " and " to continue to build along the same inspiring lines, " without being confined to a slavish imitation of other ideals than our own—regarding ideas of private

property, economic independence of the sexes, marriage and matrimony and divorce, and a hundred other matters where India has indeed a message to give to the world.

Hindu ethics has undergone changes, though slowly and gradually in response to the varying conditions of the times. The ancient Hindus believed in the theory of cycles of growth, decay and dissolution and in the repetition of history in the Universe. There has been however on the whole a rise to a higher conception of ethical duties. Future sanctions are aids to morality and disbelief in these may not after all be an unmixed good in all stages of society.

S. S.

Archæological Survey of Mysore—Annual Report for 1931

ABOUT a dozen monuments were discovered and surveyed during the year, including a fine stone-built pond of unique design at Hulikere near Halebid and more than twice the number were resurveyed in detail including the famous Keśava Temple at Belur. Eighty out of a total number of 100 newly discovered inscriptions are published and the earliest of these is connected with the death of the famous Ganga Ruler Bhutuga.

In the Amriteśvara temple at Amritapura in the Tarikere Taluk is an inscription on a large slab set up in the south-east of the temple, claimed to be the composition of the well-known Kannada Poet Janna. Hale Sringeri Village is about two furlongs to the west of Sringeri with about one Brahman and twenty other houses. A small mud shrine contains the old Vidyāśankara Linga, about six feet high. The Vidyāśankara image is 1½ft. high in Yoga-mudra with a sannyasi disciple on either side. Compared with this, it will be clear that the image to which I have referred in my article on "An Ancient Image at Hampi" may not be that of Vidyāśankara. In his notes on Vidyāraṇyapura, Dr. Krishna says that "Vidyāraṇya also must have been a Karnataka. But Vidyāśankara is said to have been a 'coli' since some 'colis' have set up his image in the Agrahara." This statement is evidently traditional,

picked up during the course of the inquiries but it deserves further investigation.

The detailed 're-study' of the Belur temple is worth careful perusal by the reader. The beautiful pond at Hulikere near Belur appears to have had twenty-seven niches or shrines representing the lunar constellations and it was probably constructed during the reign of the Hoysala Nārasimha about 1269 A.D. The Hoysala temple at Kubatur near Shiralkoppa is Chalukyan and belongs to about 1100 A.D. There are no definite Hoysala features and it suggests that the Hoysala borrowed the Chalukyan model with improvements thereon.

After dealing with some coins of the Vijayanagara Kings in Part III, Dr. Krishna in the next part gives a critical account of *Suktisudharnava* by Mallikarjuna, belonging to the reign of the Hoysala King Someśvara, a work which is considered to be a great anthology of old Kannada poetry. He agrees with Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah that the author of this work is identical with the composer of the inscription in the Basral temple, dated 1237 A.D. and that he is Cidananda Mallikarjuna. Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar appears to consider Cidanandakavi and Mallikarjuna as two different individuals. His son was Kesiraja and his father-in-law Sumanobana, the general and poet of Vīra-Nārasimha's Court. There is disagreement again regarding religion, *viz.*, whether he was a Jain or a Smartha Brahman. Then regarding the date, after great discussion, the view expressed is that the date of the work is *c* 1237 A.D. The historical information in the work is meagre but it is a unique work in Indian Kavya literature. While it has no plot, unlike the ordinary anthologies it definitely adopts the machinery of a Maha Kavya. It is a store-house of great Kannada poetry and is itself of a high literary value.

We congratulate Dr. Krishna on the excellent work which he has done during the year of the *Report* under review. The cultural side of the activities of the Mysore University is in very safe hands and the encomiums which his work has received from distinguished scholars all over the world is remarkable testimony to the work which is being conducted

under his able guidance in the Department of Archæology in Mysore.

S. S.

Archæological Survey of Mysore—Annual Report for 1932

In the report before us, Dr. Krishna continues a detailed study of important architectural monuments in the State, Somanathpur, Talkad, Ikkeri, Keladi and Harihara being included in this survey. An important copper plate of the Ganga King Krishnavarma has been discovered and published. Attention may be drawn to the following : (1) The images of Śankara (?) and Kannappa (Plate IV) belonging to the Vaidyesvara Temple, Talkad, (2) Dhanvantari (?) (Plate VI), (3) Votive bas reliefs at Ikkeri (Plate XII), (4) Relievo portrait of a Chief and Vastupurusha in the Virabhadra Temple (Plate XIV) and (5) the image of Harihara (Plate XV). This last is a little larger than life-size and wears a *makuta* showing *jata* on the right side and *kirita* on the left, with hands disposed in the four poses. The face has a realistic appearance. We agree with Dr. Krishna wholeheartedly, that the Talgunda temple should be restored and properly preserved.

In the section relating to numismatics, a large number of coins of the Vijayanagara Dynasty has been studied and some suggestions have been made concerning the crest which appears on the earlier coins.

The most important part of the report for the year is what relates to *Vidyāraṇyakālajnāna* an account of which has been furnished for the first time. The details in this work are said to bear a close resemblance to what we find in the *Rājakālanirṇaya* and the *Sivatattvaratnākara* as well as the *Guruvamsa Kāvya*. The important points to note here are these: (1) Vidyāraṇya is different from Mādhava. (2) Harihara and Bukka were guards in the treasury of Pratapa Rudra and were serving under Kumāra Rāmanātha. (3) The Harihara princes defeated the Hoysalas. (4) Kriyāśakti was a disciple of Vidyāraṇya. And (5) the date of the foundation of Vijayanagara coincides with 1336 except for minor differences. It is

not possible to refer to these matters in detail here and I expect to refer to them in my articles on the "Foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire" in due course.

The reports are coming in quick succession and we hope Dr. Krishna will be enabled to bring them up-to-date.

S. S.

The Elements of Logic (in Tamil)

BY REV. FR. P. S. JNANAPRAKASAM

Balapundit, Mirisuvil, Jaffna, Ceylon

(*With A Foreword by W. R. Watson, B.A., B.Sc., Divisional Inspector of Schools, Ceylon. Price Calico Rs.* 2–8–0 *and Boards Rs.* 1–12–0)

DISSEMINATION of modern knowledge through the provincial vernaculars inaugurates a new era in the history of educational progress in India. Bengal proved to be a pioneer in this matter. The South Indian languages are now coming into line. In recent years books on modern subjects are being written in the Dravidian languages like Tamil, Telugu and Kannada by persons who have themselves had the benefits of modern English education. The contact these are establishing between the English-educated Indians on the one hand and the non-English-knowing people on the other is a healthy sign of the times. Modern thought can filter down to the people only through the vernacular. Popular adult education is rendered possible only in this manner. Fr. Jnanaprakasam's little book *The Elements of Logic* in Tamil is a laudable attempt in adapting Western techniques and modes of thinking to the needs of the Tamils. In this the author has been eminently successful. Within the compass of a small volume he has compressed matter that would suffice an Intermediate student preparing himself for his examination in Logic. The treatment of the subject is based on Creighton's *An Introduction to Logic*, Welton's *A Manual of Logic* and Latta and Macbeath's *The Elements of Logic.* In conveying the ideas of Modern Logic which includes Deduction based on the Aristotelian Tradition and Induction

or Scientific Method as it is treated in modern text-books on the subject, the author has succeeded in a very large measure judging from the difficulties he had to overcome, especially the one due to adopting suitable terminology in Tamil that would correspond to the terms that form the technical counters of European Logic. His studies of *Tarka Śāstra* have been of great help to him in this matter. One specially notes with delight the questions he has framed on each chapter for exercise in the subject on the lines of any good text-book of Logic in English. The list of technical terms with their Tamil equivalents and an exhaustive index add to the usefulness of the book.

We congratulate the author on his valuable contribution to the store-house of modern literature in Tamil.

M. Y.

The Tresse Iron-Age Megalithic Monument

(*Sir Robert Mond's Excavation*)

(*Its quadruple sculptured breasts and their relation to the mother-goddess cult*)

BY V. C. C. COLLUM

(*Oxford University Press, London. Humphrey Milford*, 1935. 10*s* 6*d*.)

IN this work Sir Robert Mond has undertaken, for the owner Baron Robert Surcouf, by permission of the French Ministry of Fine Arts to publish a report on the excavation of a hitherto unexcavated Allée Couverte of the Gallo-Roman period with realistic sculptures in relief of two double pairs of human breasts, etc., at Tressé, St. Mulo, together with an exhaustive comparative study of the cult resposnible for the symbolism of the twin pairs of human breasts. Thirty-five plates and fourteen figures are included in the book under review.

The monument though originally noticed so far back as 1880 had not been excavated so far and the work of excavation started in 1929. A detailed account of the site, the history of the monument and the work of excavation are given. The megalithic tombs with which we are here concerned apparently belong to the degenerate megalithic engineering kind which

gives the impression of an attempt by unskilled builders to copy a type of structures rather than to follow closely a technique of construction. The author considers that structures of this kind betray the presence of human burials and these remains confirm that view. After the work of excavation was over, the remains have been rebuilt *in situ* and the monument has been restored in a safe condition for visitors. It will be unnecessary for us to consider in detail the pottery and other wares discovered on this occasion. Even though hand-made and field-turned fabrics are found contemporaneously in one tomb and pots thrown on the wheels and pots hand-fashioned are discovered simultaneously, this picture is regarded as revealing a provincial society in a comparatively highly organised industrial phase incompatible neither with the period of Domitians nor the secluded settlements of native tribesmen in the forests of Northern Armorica. It further irresistably suggests a funeral custom under which people belonging to various classes of society brought such ceramic offerings as they could afford to purchase.

More important than either of these or the metallic objects and beads or the iron one-edged sword or even the bones and the skeleton in these remains are the double pairs of human breasts sculptured in relief. The work is realistic and beautiful in its sensibility, for the two pairs on the transversal stone are the pointed breasts of a young girl and those of the western stone are the full breasts of a mother. (See Plate 21 facing p. 31; and Plate 17 facing p. 29.) The portrait studies appear to have been taken from two different young virgins in Plate 21. If it is correct to date the monument to the period of Roman intercourse with Gauls, the author says these symbols are easily explained as representing the great mother whose cult was popular in the country at the time having spread from Asia Minor, Syria and other parts. For a careful study of comparative religion and theosophy leaves no doubt that she was one and the same female principle of creation, god-head or life. This cult was as old as civilisation itself and as such flourished particularly in Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Further

east it was at once more theosophical in its exposition and less purely anthropomorphic in its symbolism.

For a detailed and exhaustive discussion of this subject we would refer the interested reader to the excellent work under review. S. S.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for 1933

(*Kern Institute, Leyden*)

Vol. VIII

It is most pleasing to observe that the authorities of the Kern Institute have surmounted successfully the difficulties that lay before them and continued the useful work which they have been doing for the past several years. And we are grateful to the several donors who have responded to the appeal of the Institute for assistance.

A new feature introduced into the present volume which has reduced its bulk without affecting its usefulness consists in the employment of certain abbreviations, omission of academic and honorific titles of authors and not dealing with publications separately when they are also reviewed, unless in exceptional cases. A reference to the Bibliography does not make us realise any appreciable difference in this method from the treatment in the earlier volumes.

Amongst the excavations at Persepolis in Iran, by the courtesy of Dr. Herzfeld, has been produced a group of Indians and another of the Scythians (or Śakas). It is pointed out "that the Śaka of the tribute procession of Xerxes, although they are absolutely identical with the Sakā Tigra*kh*andā, are not those, but are the Sakā Paradrayā of Southern Russia, somewhere near the Cimmerian Bosporus (Crimea). Of the three Indian Satrapies, only the Hindus (Sind) are represented. The animal is meant to be a wild ass, the man in front carries a flexible stick over his shoulder, not a scale. The very first figure to the right is the Persian usher, who holds by the hand the chief of the mission."

Concerning the mysterious script of the Indus Valley, attention is drawn to a paper on the "Seals of Ancient Indian Style Found at Ur" published by Mr. C. J. Gadd in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* and Mr. G. de Hevesy's startling discovery that the script of the Indus Valley shows certain analogies to that found on wooden tablets in the Easter Island has evoked considerable interest. The inscription found at the Chhaḍaśilā monastery in the Kalawān area in the North-West is of considerable importance as supplying a reliable basis for the dating of the Gandhāra sculptures which were discovered along with it. The volume contains a review of the progress of archæological work in different parts and we wish the survey will hereafter include Mysore also. In the Netherlands India the Northern Temple of Prambanan was completely rebuilt in 1932 and some provisional repairs carried out on the Brahmā Temple. A bronze Buddha image was discovered in the *desa* (village) of Sempaga, situated at the mouth of the Karama river, on the West Coast of Celebes. This evidently belongs to the famous School of Buddhist Art which flourished at Amravati on the river Krishna during the first centuries of the Christian era and may therefore be regarded as one of the earliest relics of the Hindu period so far known in the Malay Archipelago.

S. S.

The Gangas of Talkad

BY M. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.T.
Mysore University

(*B. G. Paul & Co., Publishers, Madras. Price Rs.* 3)

A MONOGRAPH on the Gangas of Talkad is particularly welcome at a time, when, thanks to the energetic efforts of Dr. M. H. Krishna of Mysore, more grants of an important character of the Ganga Dynasty are being discovered. Mr. M. V. Krishna Rao, the author of the book under review, has, we think, wisely refrained from entering into a discussion in detail of the thorny and complicated problems relating to the Ganga genealogy or chronology while at the same time he has indicated to some

extent the nature of these problems. In the *Mysore Gazetteer* of Mr. Rice and in the revised edition of the same by Rajacharita Visharada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, these topics are dealt with in great detail and all arguments advanced relating to them to which also the interested reader may turn.

The Gangas ruled over Mysore and Coorg for several centuries and while their very name was once lost in oblivion, by diligent research of scholars, they have been restored to their place in history. We are grateful to Rice, Narasimhachar and Krishna Sastri, amongst others, for the knowledge that we possess of this well-known line of Mysore Kings, which brings back to us memories of an ancient greatness linking Mysore with the past and carrying Mysore forward to the times till the powerful armies of Rajaraja the Great and of the Hoysala princes put an end to the independent existence of the Gangas in the eleventh century.

There are not, unfortunately, a large number of stone inscriptions of this dynasty of the Gangas till we come towards the close of the seventh century. It is not always safe to rely on copper plates, fifty-two of which have been collected and referred to in the *Mysore Gazetteer.* Of these seventeen plates bear no dates and nine give wrong dates. Sir John Fleet once led a severe criticism against what he called the "spurious" series of Ganga plates but later on he modified his views to a very large extent and he had indeed veered round to the view of Rice. Subsequently, a number of grants have been discovered and even after the publication of the revised *Mysore Gazetteer*, we have been fortunate to discover new grants, including lithic ones. The severe tests applied by Sir John Fleet have been adopted by Narasimhachar and Ganga genealogy has been built up from the plates which have stood the exacting standard set up by Fleet. His objections to relying on several Ganga plates related to (1) the corrupt language of the record, (2) serious orthographical errors, (3) rude execution, (4) palæographical differences, (5) long periods assigned to Kings in the record, (6) suspicious forms of the names given to the engravers of and the witnesses to grants, and (7) lack of external or internal

evidences corroborative of statements in the grants. The Penugonda Plates of Mādhava III discovered by Krishna Sastri in 1913 stood Fleet's tests and he regarded them as genuine (*J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 471–472) and Rice wrote about them (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 340). In all probability, even the spurious plates while forged perhaps regarding the operative portion of the grants, *i.e.*, gifts, did really embody the tradition relating to genealogy and were copies of or from genuine grants. Difference amongst scholars has now shifted to the details concerning Ganga genealogy and chronology.

The Gangas were a line of kings who probably came originally from the north and settled down at Perur whence they advanced in succeeding generations towards Mysore. The accredited founder of the Ganga Dynasty was one Konguni-varma, an appellation borne by almost all the later Ganga rulers. Mr. S. V. Visvanatha, in an article published in this issue, attempts to trace a connection between the founder of the Ganga Dynasty and the Kongus. There is no reason to disbelieve the existence of a Ganga Dynasty up to the time of Durvinīta even though there have been disputes in the past about the genuineness of the Mercara and Nagamangala Plates. Prof. Dubreuil suggested that there was a Paruvi line distinct from the original or Talkad branch. Dr. Shama Sastri on the basis of his discoveries showed that there was one Krishna-varman and his sons Simhavarman and Vīra Varman and suggested that he started the Kaivara branch. The lake plates lend support to the theory of Dr. Shama Sastri that there were three different branches springing from Mādhava I. Possibly, the genealogical tables would have to be reconciled whether there are two lines or three. As I have stated elsewhere,[1] " In dealing with the inscriptions of the year (1930), Dr. Krishna has taken advantage of the publication of the Keregālūr Plates of Mâdhava II who established Sangamapura in Sendrakavi-shaya to review the important records 336 and 88 of the Western Gangas, each with a different genealogy. There are difficulties

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[1] *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. 25, pp. 315-18.

in accepting the theory that the dynasty was only one. To hold that the dynasty of the Penugonda Plates is different from that of the Keregālūr Plates would be based upon two assumptions : (1) that Krishnavarma of the Penugonda Plates became independent of the Pallava yoke though his father and grandfather were crowned by the Pallava overlords; and (2) that the reigns of four generations of this branch equalled in length two of the Talkad branch. Hence comes the third view that there were three distinct branches of the Gangas." Then, "The dynasty mentioned in the Keregālūr and Mārasimha Plates, which was perhaps the main branch, was described from Kongunivarma and Mādhava I, through Harivarma whose son was Vishnugopa. Vishnugopa's son was Tadangāla Mādhava or Mādhava II who granted the Keregālūr Plates and who was the father of Avinīta. This Avinīta of the Talkad branch appears to have acquired possession of the Paruvi area. It is also possible that the Ganga empire was divided, after the death of Mādhava I, perhaps owing to a disputed succession between his sons Harivarma, Krishnavarma and Āryavarma, who got respectively Talkad, Kaivara and Paruvi. The Pallava Emperor Simhavarma probably intervened on behalf of Āryavarma and crowned him. The separation of the kingdoms appears to have existed for two or four generations between 400 and 500 A.D. However, it was the Talkad Dynasty which ultimately won the mastery."[2] Dr. Krishna further says that this theory has also its weak points. No. 36 (Devarahalli Inscription) is important in Ganga history as being the first lithic record of early times in which the Ganga genealogy is traced to the time of Sivamāra and the genealogy given therein closely follows that of the Talkad Gangas found in numerous copper plates but not the special genealogy mentioning Āryavarma and Krishnavarma as in the Penugonda and Bendiganahalli Plates but in No. 88 (the Kudlur Plates) of Mādhavavarma the genealogy is identical with that given in the Penugonda Plates. Whether it is possible to reconcile these conflicting

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[2] *M.A.R.*, 1930, pp. 123-24.

views and establish that these rulers all belonged to one stock is more than can be stated from the present materials. We connot assert that Mādhava and Simha are *aliases* for Vishnugopa and that Ārya and Krishna were the surnames of Harivarma. We have to accept the view of Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar expressed with reference to the Kudlur Plates.

The Gangas belonged to the Jānhavēya or Gangakula. Their country, Gangavadi, was also called Srīrājya. It is certainly very difficult to say that the Gangas represent a Kānva offshoot in the south of India. Kolar was the chief city at the time of the foundation and the capital was later shifted to Talkad. In the seventh century Mankunda and in the eighth Manne were their residential capitals. The important dates of this dynasty depend upon an interpretation of the earlier copper plates with corroborative evidences from lithic records and from the prolific literature of the period. The date of Mādhava I himself would have to be fixed from his close association with the Jain guru Simhanandin, a contemporary of Samantabhadra. Even the true historical section from Kiriya Mādhava II to Mushkara has to be worked out from copper plates. In the sixth and seventh centuries the Ganga invasions continued on neighbouring territories and they were later on extended east and south. They were themselves attacked on the north-west by the Chalukyas. Mahavalis or Banas in the eastern parts of Mysore, on the east and north of the Palar river in the Mulbagal Taluk, were subdued under Hastimalla about the end of the ninth century.[3] They had been previously defeated and put into confusion in the last quarter of the eighth century. But it was Prithvīpathi II, great-grandson of Sivamāra I who completed the conquest and earned the proud distinction of Bānādhirāja from the Cola King Parāntaka in 921 A.D. Likewise, Nolambavadi which has given a name to the Vokkaligar Community of the northern and eastern parts of Mysore was made part of the Ganga dominions. The Nolamba Pallavas of the Kannada country

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[3] *I.A.*, XIII, pp. 6, 187.

trace their origin to Mahendravarman III. The Ganga King Srīpurusha retook Kādavetti of the Pallavas, seized their umbrella and became Permānadi. The Nolambas intermarried with the Gangas and the Chalukyas and were powerful in the ninth and tenth centuries. The Ganga King Mārasimha destroyed their power and influence about 974 A.D.

The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri worked out from the Vētūrpālaiyam and Bāhūr Plates a branch of the Pallava Dynasty from Nandivarman II Pallavamalla to Aparājita, termed the Gangapallava, to distinguish it from Simhavishnu and the other branches.[4] From the Penugonda Plates of the Western Ganga King Mādhava *alias* Simhavishnu, identified with the early Ganga ruler Tadangāla Mādhava, we can trace certain close intimate relationships between the Gangas and the Pallavas of this period. Tadangāla Mādhava was the banner of the Gangeya race. Admittedly the Ganga rulers of this period were the feudatories of the Pallavas, and as Pallava Kings crowned the later Ganga rulers like Sivamāra Saigotta and the younger son of Avinita, the Pallavas must have claimed to have been their overlords. Again, certain rulers named Vijaya Skanda Sishya Vikramavarman and Vijaya Īshvaravarman of the latter half of the ninth century were probably the successors of the Gangapallavas.[5] After the Gangas were overthrown by the remarkable successes of the Cola Kings, especially the successes of Rajaraja the Great and the fast developing overlordship of the Hoysalas, they continued to hold important positions under the Hoysalas and the Chalukyas. For a revival of the Ganga power we have to look elsewhere: the Eastern Gangas or the Kalinga Gangas for example, to whom there is reference in Mysore in *E.C.*, III, Bn., 140. Probably during the period of a break in the Annals of the Mysore Gangas, filled up by an "alleged" Prithvīpathi, the father of Mārasimha, they left Mysore to a relative and proceeded elsewhere to found a new dynasty.

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[4] *E.I.*, IV, p. 182.

[5] *A.S.I.*, 1906-07, p. 239.

The Karnataka Dynasty of Nepal to which Dr. Shama Sastri has referred was perhaps one such and referrable to the eighth to the tenth centuries A.D.[6]

We do not know, though Mr. Krishna Rao asserts, whether the earliest inhabitants of Gangavadi were serpent worshippers or whether Saivism in its early phases was influenced by animistic or naga cults. Much less, whether there was a struggle between the Aryan gods and the non-Aryan gods for supremacy. Likewise, whether Siva represents the non-Aryan or Turanian element in Hinduism by his intimate connection with the earth, as Lord of the Mountains and Master of the Ghosts. We do know, however, that Jainism was the prevailing religion while there was a marked toleration of Brahmanism, Buddhism and other religious faiths. The Pāsupathas, Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas also enjoyed a certain vogue in the country. The chapters relating to Religious life and Architecture and sculpture in Gangavadi were first dealt with by Mr. Krishna Rao in the papers read before the Mythic Society and since published in the *Q. J. M. S.*

Any account of the social life in the Ganga period has necessarily to be conjectural, based upon the knowledge that we are able to obtain from lithic records, literature of the period and art and architecture. We are thankful to Mr. Krishna Rao for a running and connected account he has given on this subject and on Ganga administration, gathered from the several sources already adverted to. The distinctive contribution of the Gangas, quite apart from the ancient Hindu usages and customs and polity does not appear to be considerable or even appreciable if we are to judge from the standpoint of the Mauryas, the Guptas, the Colas, the Hoysalas or the Vijayanagara Kings. Apparently, the disturbed condition of their country and the constant wars left little scope to develop their individuality ; but nevertheless we must remember with gratitude the prolific literary output of this important period of Mysore history.

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[6] *M.A.R.*, 1926; *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 226.

Siva and Vishnu Temples and Jain Basadis were in abundance. Brahman settlements, Vidyasthānas or Colleges for the encouragement of learning—particularly Sanskrit education—, temple assemblies for settlement of internal differences as well as disputes of a graver or political character were well known. The village was the unit of administration. Life in the village centred round the temple which ministered to the spiritual and temporal needs of the people. They could apply to the temple authorities in need, in times of economic or other distress. Oftentimes, the temple authorities purchased the lands of the people on what we may now describe as a conditional sale or mortgage by conditional sale and paid off the arrears on the land. Amusements were provided in the temple in addition to general instruction. These temple assemblies and village *sabhas*, not unoften, excercised a wholesome and healthy check on the cupidity or vagaries of rulers and influenced literary activity of a high order. Mathas were attached to temples. The social instinct was highly developed in the people and there was sufficient protection for society against malefactors.

Owing to the hurry in publication referred to in the preface, several errors have crept into the book under review. References ought properly to be relegated into the footnotes or to the close of the chapter, to facilitate easy reading and there should be uniformity in the spelling of proper names. Besides, we wish the genealogy and the map were fuller and more illuminating. We wish Mr. Krishna Rao will avoid these blemishes and simplify the launguage in revising the work for a subsequent edition.

The book under review fulfils a long-felt want and makes a valuable addition to a library on South Indian history.

S. S.

The Divine Pymander of Hermes Trismegistus

(*Shrine of Wisdom, London*)

WE are obliged to the editors for a second edition of this excellent work. For, it " is a book most choice for the elegance of its language, most weighty for the abundance of its information, full of grace and propriety, full of wisdom and mysteries. It contains the profoundest mysteries of the most ancient theology, and the arcana of all philosophy." The manual before us represents a successful endeavour to systematise and to unfold something of the significance of the writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus ; and lays emphasis on the more primary and important fundamental truths contained in the work.

The soul is the principal whereby God eternally vivifies the Cosmos. Soul acts upon matter, through the medium of nature, which depends upon soul. But soul, in turn, depends upon Nous, and Nous depends upon God.

There are three heads, God, the Cosmos and man. The Cosmos is for man's sake and the latter is for God's. "From one source all things depend but the source is from the one and only. God doth contain the Cosmos ; the Cosmos containeth man. The Cosmos is the offspring of God and man, as it were, is the offspring of the Cosmos. The Cosmos is, indeed, from God, and in God ; but man, of the world and in the world. The beginning and the end and the constitution of all things is God."[1] The first head or idea is thus the subject of theology and is the highest of all sciences and includes the causes of all real beings, ideas and world. The second is the subject of Cosmology, signifying the solar system and the Universe. In *Pymander*, it includes all worlds and universes—subjective and objective—all planes, sub-planes, spheres and regions, of existence and activity. But it does not include the Divine Natures and ruling intelligences who operate in the various worlds. And it does not include man who is something more, potentially, though a microcosm of the macrocosm.

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[1] X, 14 and VIII, 5.

The last head is the study of man and the view is anthropological.

God must be considered (1) as the unmanifest, (2) as the most manifest and (3) as the unmanifest and at the same time most manifest. God is therefore transcendental: He is undifferentiated: and He is the transcendental unmanifested good to which all things aspire. Being in all, and there being nothing without Him, He is necessarily the most manifest. He is immanent but there is a distinction between Him and the things He creates. The latter are of and from Him and cannot subsist without Him but He is not in need of them and can subsist without them. Thus, God's manifestations are His acts or operations and cannot really be separated from Himself. He acts by virtue of being what He is and what He creates exist by virtue of His operations. Since all creation ceaselessly manifests His power, He is the most manifest one. The last is paradoxical but true and God is both unmanifest and the most manifest and this conception embodies a whole truth of which the dual separate statements are but partial aspects.

The orderly sequence of the cosmological progression of the unmanifest into the manifest is unfolded in a speech which is given in the text. Since eternity is in God and the Cosmos in eternity, there must necessarily be an unmanifested aspect of the Cosmos, regarded from the standpoints of time and space. But since time is in the Cosmos and Generation is in time, there is a manifested aspect.

S. S.

Archæological Survey of India—Annual Report for 1929-30

APART from progress in all its varied spheres of activity, the year under review is important in many respects. Referring to his excavations on the Sirkap site in Taxila, Sir John Marshall has no doubt that the Parthian city on this side must have been destroyed by the Kushāns shortly before 64 A.D. though the actual date may not be absolutely certain. The discoveries included an interesting relief representing wingless Eros and Psyche in gold *repoussè*, pendants, etc., all of gold.

Further digging revealed valuable evidence concerning the various dynasties that had occupied this site from the beginning of the third century B.C. At Mohenjodaro, amongst the probable antiquities revealed during the excavation are: (1) a razor with two edges, one straight and the other curved, which in general shape is similar to certain Egyptian examples; (2) an amulet bearing on the reverse an incised design of a vulture with out-stretched wings and human feet similar to the one found at Harappa in 1924–25; (3) an impression of a boss seal depicting a buffalo surrounded by a number of dead bodies and resembling archaic examples from Mesopotamia; (4) an amulet, the first of the kind found at Mohenjodaro so far, showing certain resemblances to the Egyptian sign for stability; (5) a medallion with a figure of the single-horned animal; and (6) a seal impression representing a buffalo about to be transfixed with a spear by a man. It has been now established that the Indus valley culture was not confined to that region alone and in the course of his regular survey for over 2,000 miles extending from the delta of the river Indus northward as far as the Sukkur District, Mr. N. G. Mazumdar has surveyed over one hundred mounds and old sites, three of these at least belonging definitely to the Chalcolithic period. The excavations at Nagarjunikonda brought to light two more stupas similar in plan to the great stupa built by the lady Chantisiri.

Sir John Marshall in his article on the excavations at Taxila says that the destruction of the Parthian city on this site was attended by some sudden and dire calamity in which many of the citizens must have been killed or driven permanently from their homes: and that undoubtedly this was at the hands of the invading Kushāns, shortly before 64 A.D. The presence of the coins of the last Greek King Hermaios, of Kadphises, and of Hermadis with Kadphises in Sirkap has been beautifully and clearly explained. They do not, as they may appear at first sight, suggest the conquest of Taxila by Kujūla Kadphises himself—perhaps with the help of Hermaios—in the earlier half of the first century A.D., *i.e.*, possibly between the reigns of Azes and Gondopharnes. Early in his career, Kujūla

Kadphises possessed himself of Kābul, about 25 A.D. and afterwards he occupied Pu-ta and Kipin and assumed the title of Mahārāja Rājādhirāja. Subsequently, the Parthians of Taxila whose territories had been invaded by Kujūla Kadphises retaliated by themselves occupying the Kābul valley and these Kābul coins thus found their way to Taxila during the Parthian domination there. The mistake hitherto made is said to have been in assuming that it was the Parthians who made an end of the Greek power in Kābul and the Kushāns who in their turn drove out the Parthians. According to Marshall, the fact seems to be that the Kābul valley was an important bone of contention between the Parthians and Kushāns and that probably it changed hands more than once before the final eclipse of the Parthian power.

The precious hoards of jewellery, etc., found at Taxila constitute one large and homogeneous collection representative of Parthian culture in India in the middle of the first century A.D. The Roman and Armenian picture of the Parthians as half barbarians, chiefly renowned for their skill as horsemen or with the bow is defective and one-sided. They were not only fine warriors but an energetic, progressive and highly civilised nation, inheriting much of the culture and refinement of both Greece and Persia. "Philhellenes" was no empty boast claimed by the Arsacids but they were greatly influenced by the hellenistic art and hellenistic ideas in general. The Śakas had formed part of the Parthian Empire also and whatever the Kushāns had of Græco-Roman ideas or Græco-Roman culture must have come to them by way of Parthia.

In referring to the Śittaannavāśal cave inscriptions, there is a suggestion that the cave was excavated by the Pallava King Mahendravarman I and if this be so it is said that the cave must have come into existence during the early part of his reign, when he was still a devotee of Jainism.

In the museum section, Rai Bahadur Ramprasad Chanda discusses the origin of the image of Buddha, a subject of keen controversy and in his discussion of this subject refers to the Buddha type as well as the Gandhāra type of figure sculpture

which at last clearly discloses Greek influence. He says that the Madhura type of Dhāyana-yogin is an independent creation and not based on the Gandhāra type.

S. S.

Sayings of Basavanna

By M. Venkatesa Iyengar

(*Veerasaiva Tarunara Sangha, Gadag*, 1935. As. 8)

The author has already given us the sayings of Basavanna published in the *Q. J. M. S.* and we are very glad that they are now put together in book form so that the noble character, the earnest faith and the sincere devotion to truth of Basavanna may be more widely known.

S. S.

Census of India. Vol. I—India Part III. Ethnographical

By B. S. Guha

(*Govt. Press, Simla, Rs.* 7–10–0 *or* 3*s.*)

In this volume " the racial affinities of the peoples of India " is written by Guha and " ethnographic notes by various authors" edited by J. H. Hutton. Guha's attempt is easily the most important contribution to physical anthropology of India since Sir Herbert Risley's. Some of Risley's conclusions were unsatisfactory and largely open to doubt and the discoveries at Mohenjodaro have disproved a conception of India largely isolated from the rest of Asia and inhabited entirely by barbarous tribes prior to the Aryan invasion of India about 1500 B.C. After a discussion of the problem from the latest scientific standards of the day, the summary of the results is set forth in pp. lxix–lxxi of the introduction enabling us to visualise the broad outlines of the racial history of India in the early times. From the beginning of the fourth millennium B.C., N.-W. India seemed to have been in the occupation of a long-headed race with high cranial vault, long face and narrow prominent nose. We find alongside, the existence of another

very powerfully built race also long-headed, but with lower cranial vault, and equally long-faced and narrow-nosed, though the latter was not so high pitched as that of the former. A third type with broader head and apparently Armenoid affinities also existed but whose advent occurred probably somewhat later judged by the age of the site at Harappa from which most of these latter types of skulls came. The presence at Bayana of a small, long, and moderately high vaulted skull with prominent nose seems to indicate that a drift of this race eastwards had taken place even earlier and the whole of the Indo-Gangetic basin seems to have been in its occupation as early as these times. They had not penetrated into Southern India at this early period. Later on in the Iron Age, the Peninsula seems to have been occupied by a long but high-skulled race with low broad face and nose, resembling the Combe Capelle type. Apparently the same people had introduced this culture into India in Neolithic times but were driven from N.-W. India into Central and Eastern India whence they migrated southwards.

Though there is no direct evidence of the Negrito race in the old skeletal remains of India the skull of a victim of human sacrifice found in a cairn at Jewurgi is unmistakably negroid. The australoid type found in the present-day Indian aborigines suggests they are the Nisadas of Vedic Aryans and Nisadic is more appropriate than pre-Dravidian, proto-australoid and vedoloid to describe them. The Combe Capelle type or a race closely allied to it entered India probably with that culture as early as Neolithic times and that forms the bulk of the population of Peninsular and a considerable portion of Northern India. The long-headed Mediterranean race constituted the major part of the Indus Valley in Chalcolithic times. In the upper classes of Northern India another strain with undoubted northern affinities is clearly discernible. The upper castes of Northern India retain the Nordic characters of stature, head and nose forms without the fair tint of the skin. The invasion of an Alpine race from the Pamir regions postulated by Chanda is not accepted in the light of the discoveries

at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Concerning the results of his Indian Expedition published by Eickstedt, Guha criticises his nomenclature and also his classification and attributes his difficulties to his limited acquaintance with the somatic characters of the Indian people.

S. S.

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India. No. 50
Śrāvastī in Indian Literature

By Dr. Bimala Churn Law

(*Re.* 1–4–0 *or* 2*s.*)

Śrāvastī, the ancient Kosala capital, is one of the eight great places connected with Buddha's life and specially venerated by Buddhists all over the world. It was the scene of the Great Miracle and the Jetavana monastery outside the city was for a number of years hallowed by the presence of the master. Besides, sermons and sayings attributed to him were mostly delivered here according to the sacred books. Anything concerning this holy site will be of special interest and Dr. Law gives us in this *Memoir* an account of the place collected from the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina texts and commentaries and from scattered accounts left by celebrated Chinese Pilgrims. Two early inscriptions belonging to the periods contemporaneous with Kanishka or Huvishka refer to the pious donations of Bhikshu Bala. Sculptures of all the three schools are found. The place lost its importance after the thirteenth century as a centre of art and religion. The most prosperous in Buddha's time, its general prosperity was bound up with that of Kosala itself. It is also noted as the birth-place of the third Jaina Tīrtankara Sambhavanātha and the eighth Chandraprabhanātha. Mahāvīra visited the city more than once. Vedic sacrifices were also regularly performed here under the auspices of the Kosala King. With all this, it must be observed that the whole city was surcharged with the influence of Buddha and Buddhism, and it continued to be a most important

Buddhist centre linking up with it the vicissitudes of a great religion for eighteen hundred years.

S. S.

Annual Report of the Archæological Department, The Nizam's Dominions, for 1931-33 A.C.

THE frescoes at Ajanta discovered in Cave VI and referred to in the earlier reports were subjected to a scientific treatment during the year, and as a result the frescoes have almost regained their pristine beauty. Three old Roman gold coins were found in Suryapet Taluk, Nalgonda District. One of these belongs to Claudius and the other to Antonius. Cleaning of the frescoes at Ajanta in Caves IV, VI, VII, XVI, XIX and XXII and at Ellora continued. The conservation work at Bidar has led to the valuable discovery of a spacious square hall, fifty-one feet each way and of another vast hall 52 ft. × 63ft. east of the square hall. A new inscription in Cave XXVI at Ajanta was the most important discovery of the year. The illustrations are excellent and the report under review continues to maintain its usual standard as one of the reports which we look forward to, year after year, with eager interest.

S. S.

Hyderabad Archæological Series. No. 12. The Kannada Inscriptions of Kopbāl

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU

(*Rs.* 3)

THE Hyderabad Archæological Series contain the publications of H. E. H. The Nizam's Government on important inscriptions discovered within the Dominions and form a valuable adjunct to the *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.* No. 11 in the series is in the Press and the number under review is the twelfth, containing an account of the eight Kanarese inscriptions discovered by Mr. G. Yazdani in June 1931 at Kopbāl, on the left bank of the stream Hire-Halla, a tributory of the Tungabhadra. The historical town of Koppam or

Kopaṇa referred to in several inscriptions, is now identified, conclusively it is said, with the modern town of Kopbāl, as a result of the study of these inscriptions and in this view he is supported by Kielhorn, Krishna Sastri and Narasimhachar. The town appears to have been reputed as a tīrtha in 881 A.D. and is identical with Mahā-Kopaṇanagara of the Kavirāja-mārga of the ninth century. In subsequent periods, it became an important centre of the Jaina religion.

Kopbāl was the place where Mr. Yazdani also discovered two minor edicts of Asoka and it is 54 miles from Maski and 94 miles west of Eṛṛagidi, where also inscriptions of Asoka have been found. An inscription of the Hoysala King Viṣhṇu-vardhana, of 1110 A.D., states that through the benefactions of General Ganga, Ganga-vādi became like Kopaṇa. Minister Huḷḷa made grants to the tīrtha at this place.

S. S.

Second Report of the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission, September 1935

THE report contains useful appendices relating to documents in the State archives and attention may be drawn to the negotiations which culminated in the capitulations of Colombo.

S. S.

Archæological Department, Travancore : Report for 1933-34 A.D.

(1) A PREHISTORIC site containing burial urns was discovered at Paūjappaṭḥ Parambu where glazed pots were found with a bead-pattern or leaf-pattern drawing. Attention may be drawn to the discoveries of an ancient necropolis near the Lal-Bagh, Bangalore, a couple of years ago. The curator of the Mythic Society (Mr. Venktesia) and myself recovered a few specimens and they are now on view at the Government Museum, Cubbon Park, Bangalore. (2) A rock-cut temple of the eleventh century with excellently carved stone images of Lakṣmī, Pārvatī, Viṣhṇu, Gaṇapati, and a few nāgās was found in a hilly valley three miles east of Mārayūr and a number of

dolmens round this deserted village shrine were discovered. There was also noticed a small sculptured panel of Mārkandēya embracing Śiva Linga, awed by the hunting sight of Yama and exhibiting a feeling of loneliness, sorrow, fear, resignation and fortitude with suggestions of spiritual hope. Dolmens were mostly two-chambered but some had three chambers and all were in a fair state of preservation. These dolmens are stated to be megalithic monuments belonging to the Neolithic period and " were thought of until recently to be the burial places of the mighty chiefs, or temples used by the Druids". (3) A few relics of fresco painting of about the ninth century A.D. were found on the walls of the rock-cut cave temple at Tirunandikkara in South Travancore.

Mudras or hand poses employed in Vedic chanting in Kērala are again referred to in the report and these are particularly interesting.

S. S.

Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections
Vol 94, No. 11.—Melanesians and Australians and the Peopling of America

By Ales Hrdlicka

Ales Hrdlicka is a well-known anthropologist whose works we have had occasion to have reviewed in the pages of the *Q.J.M.S.* After a detailed discussion of the several theories, it is considered that the hypotheses of either Melanesian or Australian, and even that of recognizable Polynesian presence on the American continent is not demonstrable, nor even probable ; that the dolicho-steno-hypsi-cephalic cranium is not extraneous but represents one of the several cranial types of both the Indian and the Eskimo ; and that whatever cultural or other resemblances may appear to exist between the pre-Columbian Americas and the South Seas must have other explanations than any material accession of the peoples of the latter parts of the world to the American populations. The view of one who has spent the major part of his life in somatological and medical studies

among the American natives, personally visiting over 100 tribes from cape to cape and passing through over 10,000 American crania and skeletons in his examination and who has examined a larger number of Australian skulls than any other man is entitled to the greatest weight. The morphological features of some of the American skulls have led to some suggestions but we cannot give exaggerated values to cranial features and draw any conclusive inferences thereupon. We find the same difficulty in India also concerning scientific evidence; even linguistic and cultural similarities prove deceptive: and geographical conditions have to be studied with great care and caution.

S. S.

Rabindranath Tagore

BY M. VENKATESA IYENGAR

(*Mysore University Kannada Series, No.* 6. *Re.* 1–6–0)

THE poet Tagore has achieved a universal reputation and is a household word throughout India. It is but meet that the authorities of the Mysore University should publish a work in Kannada on the life of the Sage of Santiniketan and in their selection for an author to write on Tagore they have to be congratulated in securing the services of Mr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, himself a man of literary talents of no mean order, a writer, the Superintendent of Census for Mysore for 1931 and a successful administrator. The language is chaste, simple and clear and we have no doubt it will be an invaluable accession to any library and particularly to the Kannada-reading public, it is bound to be very instructive.

S. S.

The Secret of Ana'l Haqq with Notes and Introduction

BY KHAN SAHIB KHAJA KHAN

(*Hogarth Press, Madras. Rs.* 2)

THE work consists of 300 odd sayings of Shaykh Ibrahim Gazur-i-Ilahi translated from Persian and arranged in chapters

by Khaja Khan, himself author of several studies. These sayings are short commentaries on the esoteric teachings of some verses of the *Quran* and the translator has set before himself the task of carrying on an enlightened and liberal propaganda for a wide diffusion of the philosophical teachings of Islam and for propagating the Sufi doctrines. How God is manifest in man is well illustrated.

S. S.

The Mind-World

BY HAZRAT INAYAT KHAN
(*Luzac Co., London, W. C.* 1)

THIS is one of the many pamphlets intended to place the Sufi movement properly before the world. The mind-world is called Aina khana or the palace of mirrors. Beside all the idea of fate and wordly influences and heavenly influences, there is a creative power in man which works, perhaps, in varying degrees in different individuals, and it is in this aspect the Sufi finds the divine essence, the secret of mastery. God is made first and the makers are the prophets and teachers of the world, the great artists of ours. The God was made of rock, then words were given to describe Him. In His praise, they pictured His image and gave to humanity a high conception of God by making a throne for Him. For stone, they later substituted the heart of man. When this reflection of God, who is all beauty and majesty and excellence, is fully reflected in a person, then naturally he is focussed to God. And from this phenomenon, says the writer, what arises out of the heart of the worshipper is the love and light, the beauty and power which belong to God. It is therefore that one seeks God in the godly.

S. S.

Shahabad in 1812-13

BY FRANCIS BUCHANAN

(*Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna. Rs.* 9)

THESE reports are printed free of charge in the Patna Law Press of the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan and contain in the present volume an account of (1) the topography and antiquities, (2) the people, (3) natural productions, (4) the state of agriculture and (5) of acts and commerce. Chapter 5 has a preface containing historical notices, referring to Rohitasva, Harischandra, Trisanku and others. Sati was common and had even extended to mahomedans. All the details are as interesting as those we are familiar with in the accounts of Francis Buchanan given relating to other parts of his journey.

S. S.

Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa

BY K. V. PUTTAPPA

(*Mysore University Kannada Series, No.* 5. *Re.* 1–4–0)

PUTTAPPA is a well-known Kannada writer and poet of modern times and his selection for writing on Ramakrishna is amply justified by a perusal of the work under review. Ramakrishna is a great Vedāntin of the nineteenth century belonging to the Advaita School of Hinduism and his life and teachings have been familiar all over the world, thanks to the great work of his celebrated disciple Svāmi Vivekānanda and his co-adjutors. The Ramakrishna Mission has thriving branches throughout the world and its missionaries have been carrying on the banner and holding it aloft everywhere and the authorities of the University must be congratulated in placing an authentic account of his life and times before the Kannada-reading public.

S. S.

The Mysore Tribes and Castes—Vol. I

BY L. K. ANANTAKRISHNA IYER

(*University of Mysore. Rs.* 15)

THE other volumes in the series have already been reviewed in these pages and we congratulate most heartily Diwan Bahadur L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer on completing the first and in many respects the most important of the four volumes on Mysore Castes and Tribes. Many of us remember the work of Edgar Thurston, C. Hayavadana Rao and K. Subba Rao regarding the ethnographical survey of Southern India and it is to Edgar Thurston we owe the several volumes relating to the social condition in these parts. The ethnographic survey of Mysore was started in 1903 with the late Diwan Bahadur H. V. Nanjundayya as Superintendent and an appreciable number of monographs were published by him and material collected for a still larger number. Exacting duties of a Secretary to the Government, Judge of the Chief Court, Member of Council and Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University naturally interfered with the completion of this work and complexities of the problem facing an ethnologist were besides of no mean quality. After Nanjundayya's death, several years elapsed and ultimately the present writer was entrusted with the task of completing the survey and we are gratified to observe that the work has been done very satisfactorily. It may also be pointed out that Hayavadana Rao has given a short but complete account on this matter in his monumental work, the revised *Mysore Gazetteer*. For an exhaustive treatment of the subject, however, we are indebted to the series under review. The value of the work is further enhanced by a chapter on the cultural geography of Mysore written by Mr. F. J. Richards, one of the founders of the Mythic Society along with Father Tabard, its honoured President, and contributor of many interesting articles concerning several tribes in South India. Dr. Marret of Oxford and Prof. Sylvain Levi, whose recent demise we all deplore, have also written valuable introductions to the first volume. Dr. Marret regards Mr. Iyer's work as a model

of such sociological research as an Indian student can undertake for the lasting benefit and renown of India. It puts on record the characteristic habits of the very various units composing the population of an entire state and affords a remarkably clear view of its social statigraphy from top to bottom. According to Prof. S. Levi, Mysore is a typical state whose extent and population prove its political importance. Situated between two seas and near enough to either coast to be in contact with activities outside its area but yet secluded enough to have escaped the vicissitudes of the great land invasions, Mysore has remarkable advantages for a proper study of types. Doubtless, the present limits of the State form no actual guide but yet it affords sufficient opportunity and perspective. The present Maharaja, Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar, maintains with enlightened zeal the ancient tradition of the country handed on from the times of Asoka. Dr. Baron Von Eickstedt contributes Chapter I relating to the position of Mysore in India's racial history. Races originated only as a result of their natural geographical environment and races are the oldest existing somatic groups of mankind. In Mysore, as elsewhere in India, he says, in the open country, people of a progressive type have settled, fair in the north, dark in the south and in several refuge areas and in the jungle districts primitive people are living, fair in the western and dark in the eastern districts. For, central Mysore offers valuable soil for herdsmen and agriculturists and woodlands and mountain masses represent in biological respects excellent areas of refuge. The racial (somatic) facts very closely harmonise with the cultural facts and the primeval economic system that binds the race to its natural food area and to the primeval economic units, corresponding originally, entirely with racial units. Changes in the natural environment brings about corresponding changes in the distribution, even in the composition of the race. The distribution of the population and the discovery of the presence of race types have to be studied with these in view. The somatic facts available concerning the solution of the problems associated with the position and origin of the Melanids have been referred

to in the book but the problem is complex and baffling. The writer however says: " We need hardly hesitate, therefore, to associate the proto-Negroid roots of the Malids with a proto-Negritoid layer, and the Melanids with a proto-Melanesid stratum." The remaining chapters of the volume deal with caste, population, marriage and family, totemism, magic, animism, religion, fasts and festivals, funeral customs, occupation, village community, evolution of taste in dress and ornaments, food grains and dancing and an appendix concerning criminal tribes. The book is profusely illustrated and contains many diagrams illustrative of the text. We are very grateful indeed to Mr. Iyer for the splendid volumes he has placed before students of ethnology.

S. S.

Archæological Department, Cochin State Report for 1933-34

A VERY large cow-shaped burial urn was discovered at Kāṭṭakampall, eight miles to the N. W. of Kunnamkulam, on the border of the State and several earthen vessels and iron implements were secured. A ground plan of the prehistoric cave shows the front room and the four side rooms with cots. From a view of the cross-section and the nature of the vessels found in the cave, certain resemblances with the discoveries near the Lal-Bagh, Bangalore, suggest themselves to us. We would however like to recommend to the Cochin authorities to study the objects found at Bangalore. The mural paintings of Tiruvanchikulam were traced and reproduced: they are two centuries old.

S. S.

Manual of Zen Buddhism

(*The Ataka Buddhist Library VIII. The Eastern Buddhist Society, Kyoto*)

IN this book, the author, Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, informs the reader of the various literary materials relating to the monastery life. The first chapter consists of *gāthās* or hymns and prayers,

In the second are given the *dhāranīs* which are considered to hold in them magical power and are sung at rituals to keep away the evil spirits that interfere with the spiritual effect of the rituals. These dhāranīs consist either of invocations that appeal to the higher powers or exclamations that frighten away the evil spirits. The *sūtras* which form the subject-matter of the third chapter are full of deep thought and throw much light on the teachings of the Mahāyāna School in general and of Zen School in particular. It is well known that while Southern Buddhism (Hīnayāna) advocates the doctrine of Transiency (*Ksanikavāda*), Northern Buddhism (Mahāyāna) upholds the doctrine of Emptiness (*Śūnyavāda*). But this emptiness does not mean relativity or phenomenality or nothingness. It rather means the Absolute or something of transcendental nature. When Zen Buddhists declare all things to be empty, they do not advocate a nihilistic view. On the contrary, they hint at an ultimate reality which cannot be subserved under the categories of logic. The fourth chapter contains the sayings and sermons of the Zen masters. Life is suffering (*dukhha*), because of the accumulation (*samudāya*) of evil Karma. The cause of suffering can be annihilated (*nirodha*) and for this, there is the path (*mārga*). *Nirvāṇa* is the highest truth and the form of existence, while *saṃsāra* (birth and death) is a world of particulars, governed by Karma and causation. The fifth and last chapter gives an idea of the various Buddhist figures enshrined in the different parts of a Zen monastery. The shaven head and the dyed garment of the monks are the noble symbols of the Bodhisattvahood ; and the gourd is a symbol of *sūnyatā*. The temple-buildings with all their ornamented fixtures are the honorific emblems of Buddhist virtue. Śākyamuni (Buddha) occupies the main seat of honour on the Zen altar. He is sometimes attended by a pair of Bodhisattvas and another of Arhats. The Bodhisattvas (Manjuśrī and Samantabhadra) symbolise wisdom and love, the two ruling attributes of the highest reality. Śākyamuni is Vairoçana standing above the world of transmigration. The Arhats (Ānanda and Kāsyapa) stand for learning and life

and the Sākyamuni for the unifying body in which experience and intellection find their field of harmonious co-operation. The book enables the reader to know what the Zen monk reads in his daily services, where his thoughts move and what objects of worship he has.

N. I.

Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines

EDITED BY W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ

(*Oxford University Press, London*, 1935. *Price*, 16*s. net*)

YŌGA is an efficient and scientific method of bringing about the development of man's triune nature by means of mental control. The path of Yōga is not, therefore, a single one; but one of many paths, all leading to the one goal. The book contains the texts of the principal Yōgas which many of the illustrious Tibetan and Indian Yōgins employ in attaining right Knowledge. Speaking of Samādhi Yōga the text (Book II), says: All doors of perception are closed. There is complete oblivion of the material universe of phenomena. The mind attains its own natural condition of absolute tranquillity. The microcosmic mind becomes attuned to the macrocosmic mind. Thereby is attained the Knowledge that in the true state, there are no seeing or seer; that all finite concepts are really non-existent; that all dualities become unities and that there is but one reality. As regards *prāṇāyāma* the text (Book III) says: The thought-process and the breathing process are interdependent and the control of the latter gives control over the former. When the breathing has been rythmically regulated, the arising and passing away of thoughts will be found to have become attuned to its rythm. Regarding psychic heat (*prāṇa*) the text says, by the yogically-regulated breathing process, the psychic force (*prāṇa*) is made to enter the median nerve (*susumnanādi*) and its capillaries and stores in the centres (*cakras*) of the psychic-nerve system- The *prāṇa* retained in right (*pingaḷa*) and left (*iḍā*) psychic. nerves (*nādis*) after an expiration and that brought into them by an inspiration unite and enter the median nerve (*susumna-nādi*) as transmuted vital force in the form of one body of

vitality. The rousing of the Kuṇḍalini is explained thus. With the awakening of Saturn force which is the afflorescence or complement of the virtues of the moon (*iḍā*) and sun (*pingaḷa*) forces (*prāṇa*) and of which median-nerve (*susumna-nādi*) is the channel, the climax of the supernormal experiences, resulting from producing psychic heat, is attained. The Buddhist doctrine of consciousness transference (Book IV) is similar to the Hindu doctrine, of *parakāya-pravesa* and that of subduing the lower self (Book V) to *aghamarṣana* of the Hindus. The hum of the Buddhist is like the *Om* of the Hindus most potential. These *bījas* when properly intoned are said to convey psychic influences in the form of gift-waves. The doctrine of Voidness (Book VII) is a restating of the doctrine of *Māya*. In terms of *Śūnyatā*, the sole reality is mind and mind is the cosmos, matter being but the crystallization of thought. The universe is merely the materialization of thought forms—the idea which illusorily appears as objects of nature. The author has placed in this book not only a catera of translations of texts but also a body of orally-transmitted traditions and teachings which he received from his Tibetan guru, the late Lāma Kazi Dawa Sampud. The letter-press and the get-up leave nothing to be desired. No student of Northern Buddhism can ignore this useful book.

N. I.

An Introduction to Zen Buddhism

(*The Ataka Buddhist Library VII. Published by the Eastern Buddhist Society, Kyoto*)

THE book is a reprint of the articles written by the author Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki for the *New East* sketching the outline of Zen teaching. Zen strongly and persistently insists on an inner spiritual experience and gives the method of attaining spiritual enlightenment as follows. Look into your own being and seek it not through others. Your own mind is above all forms; it is free and quiet and sufficient; it eternally stamps itself in your six senses and four elements. In its light, all is

absorbed. Hush the dualism of subject and object; forget both; transcend the intellect; sever yourself from the understanding and directly penetrate deep into the identity of the Buddha-mind. Outside of this, there are no realities. The book thus amply serves its purpose.

N. I.

The Mahabharata

(*Southern Recension*)

EDITED BY P. P. S. SASTRI

(*Vol. XVI—Anusāsana Parvan, Part I. V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu and Sons, Madras*)

THE book under review is the first of the two volumes of the Anusāsana Parvan and deals with Chapters 1–78. The Editor has used, in its preparation for the press, the manuscripts belonging to Brahmasri Krishna Sastrigal, Palace Pauranikar, Trivandrum; H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore; the Adyar Library, Madras and Mr. Natesa Iyer of Tinnevelly. This parvan is noteworthy as it holds both Śiva and Vishnu in equally high esteem and enumerates their thousand names.

N. I.

EDITORIAL

By the death of His Majesty King George V the British Empire and the world have lost a great king, a great gentleman and a great lover of world peace. We tender our respectful sympathies to Her Majesty Queen Mary, His Majesty King Edward VIII and the royal family.

* * *

His Majesty King Edward VIII succeeds to the throne of his ancestors and is the heir to a great name and a great example. His wisdom is manifest by the determination to which he has given expression that he would walk in the footsteps of his great father.

* * *

It is a matter for great satisfaction that the All-India Oriental Conference should have been invited to hold its Eighth Session at Mysore. The Conference was held during the last week of December and was largely attended by delegates from all parts of India and elsewhere. A large number of papers were contributed to the various sections of the Conference. An exhibition was held and excursions to places of historical and antiquarian interest in the State were arranged. The organisers deserve to be highly congratulated for the excellent arrangements made.

* * *

In a brief communication to the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (March 1936) Mr. G. V. Bobrinskoy of the University of Chicago, attempts to show that the characters of a line of script in a contract tablet from Babylon, recording the sale of a slave girl dated in the 23rd year of Artaxerxes may be Brāhmi. He infers from the position of the line that it contains the names of a witness to the transaction. It will be remembered that the tablet was published by Theo. G. Pinches in the *P. S. B. A.*, 1882–83 and the tablet is now in the British Museum. A photograph of the plate is also published in the Journal. The writer is convinced that we have

here some kind of a Brāhmi script, even though differing considerably from the type of the Asokan inscriptions; and he tries to account for these differences by the early date of the tablet. It will be interesting to know what other palœographists have to say.

* * *

A very interesting article in the *J. A. S. B.* (Letters: Vol. I, No. 3) by Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyay pertains to the history of Indian Social Organisation. The earliest references to castes are to be found in the *Institutes of Manu*. Notable among the early workers in the field may be mentioned the names of Ibberton and Nesfield, Risley and Sénart and lastly Dr. Hutton who has recently put forward his views of the origin of the caste system in India in the latest Census of India Report. The author of the present article discusses the standpoint of the several writers and advances certain conclusions of his own. It is his view that there were not two but three sets of cultured people—the fisher-folk, the metal-folk and the dairy-men—who contended for mastery in India and built up caste organisation.

* * *

The Diamond Jubilee of the reign of His Highness Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda who is a Vice-Patron of the Society was celebrated with great rejoicing in January last. His Highness is a ruler who is worthy of the greatest honour. During the sixty years of his reign, Baroda has advanced in every direction and is to-day one of the foremost States in India. His Highness is a great humanitarian and scholar. He was the Honorary President of the First Parliament of Religions held at Chicago during the recent World Fair held there where he delivered the opening address. We extend our most respectful felicitations to His Highness on the completion of the memorable sixty years ot rule and pray that he may long be spared to guide his country and continue to be a great support to the cause of Oriental learning which he has always been.

* * *

Our most hearty congratulations are due to Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore and Vice-President of the Society on his becoming the distinguished recipient of the title of K.C.I.E. which he so richly deserves.

* * *

Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, formerly Head of the Department of History and Archæology in the University of Madras, a well-known scholar of Indian History and one of the Founders of the Mythic Society, completed sixty-five years of age and the sixty-sixth birthday was fittingly celebrated at Madras on the 15th April 1936. A commemoration volume containing essays from scholars from all parts of India and elsewhere was presented to him on that occasion. The Mythic Society was represented on the occasion by its Secretary Mr. S. Srikantaya who was one of the speakers. We extend our hearty congratulations to Dr. Aiyangar on his elevation to the title of Diwan Bahadur in the Brithday Honours and wish him many more years of useful service.

* * *

We heartily welcome into the field of research Journalism a new publication from Poona under the title *The Poona Orientalist* with Vidyāsudhākara Dr. H. D. Sharma as its editor. The first quarterly number which has just been issued contains some very interesting articles and the first instalment of the text and English translation of *Nyāyasūtras of Gautama* by Dr. Ganganath Jha. We trust it will have the hearty support of Orientalists and wish the Journal a long and useful life.

* * *

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